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From Politics to Lifestyles:  
Japan in Print, I

Edited by Frank Baldwin



# **FROM POLITICS TO LIFESTYLES: JAPAN IN PRINT, I**

**EDITED BY FRANK BALDWIN**

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James L. Stewart  
Representative  
The Asia Foundation  
Executive Director  
Translation Service Center





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## INTRODUCTION

This publication of selected articles from the Japanese press is evidence of an experiment that succeeded. In 1977 a project was formulated by The Asia Foundation for a Translation Service Center in Tokyo. The Center's task would be to put into accurate, readable English for publication in the American press, a fraction of the enormous output of Japanese analysis and opinion appearing in daily newspapers and monthly magazines.

No one had doubted that the Japanese had much to say and that, by and large, good journalistic writing was inaccessible to foreign readers because of the formidable language barrier. Yet many thoughtful Americans doubted that this writing, in translation, would be acceptable to U.S. daily newspapers.

The results have overcome the doubts. Publication of dozens of individual articles in more than 91 daily newspapers in the United States in 1980 amply testified to the interest of American editors and readers in what the Japanese people are saying to each other in their mass circulation newspapers and magazines.

\* \* \* \* \*

For the convenience of readers, articles in this volume have been arranged in six subject categories: national security, U.S.-Japan relations, industry and business, Japan in Asia, lifestyles and attitudes and common problems. The last category refers to issues, mundane or controversial, found in both Japanese and American society. Several U.S. editors suggested that such topics would be of interest to their readers.

Some articles fit into more than one category. The defense debate in Japan also directly influences the Tokyo-Washington bilateral relationship; the auto exports issue affects trade ties, but it also bespeaks Japan's industrial prowess and effective labor-management relations. Thus the categories chosen are non-exclusive. All Japanese names in these articles follow the U.S. newspaper style of placing the surname last.

Section 1 on national security indicates the diversity of opinion in Japan on military preparedness despite heightened tension in the region. The Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979 inspired much of the press and journal discussion. It was a sober reminder that Japan is lightly armed; many articles dealt with the possibility of an attack on Hokkaido.

Washington's insistent pressure on Japan to increase arms expenditures and assume broader military responsibilities also generated a vigorous response, pro and con. Nobuo Kurokawa's "Don't Listen to the Pentagon, Premier Suzuki" was one of many objections by conservatives to U.S. arm twisting.

Many writers continued to argue for strict limits on military forces and against any change in Japan's constitution. Tatsuzo Ishikawa calls Gen. Douglas MacArthur a "murderer of a million people" but defends the 1947 constitution against revisions demanded by "big-defense advocates."

Readers should bear in mind that some articles are only one part of an ongoing public dialogue. For example, Hosai Hyuga's call for conscription, apparently a trial balloon, provoked a sharp negative response which is not included in this collection. In an interview shortly after the article appeared, Hyuga backed away from his own proposal.

Of the nine articles on Japan-U.S. relations, six present critical perspectives on bilateral issues. TSC sought strong, lucid statements of opinion. U.S. readers should have had no difficulty understanding what these Japanese meant. The subjects range from dolphins and drunken U.S. sailors in Yokosuka to Japan Air Lines' demand that the Washington renegotiate the "unfair" 1952 air agreement.

Professor Nagayo Homma's concern over U.S. policy toward the Soviet Union reflects a Japanese fear of being caught in the arms race or a nuclear war between the superpowers. The interview with former Ambassador Fumihiko Togo illustrates the often excruciating difficulty Japan has in being a reliable ally to the United States and protecting its own vital interests. The clash of economic interests, the awareness of the overriding need for cooperation in a crisis, and the often

emotional reaction in both Tokyo and Washington were abundantly present in the Iranian trauma.

There was, of course, also much praise in the Japanese press of U.S. policies, institutions and individuals. One example is the article by Kazumasa Goto on what he admires about U.S. businessmen. Printed in at least five U.S. newspapers, Goto's piece attests to the value of direct personal contact.

But no matter how much good will there is when Japanese and Americans meet (often there is little), the difficulties of English and Japanese will sometimes waylay even the most careful. In his humorous recollection, "Adventures with English," Hiroshi Tanimura recalls some misadventures from the Occupation period.

Japan's economic success was much observed, discussed and written about in 1980. Some of the highlights are covered in Section 3 on Industry and Business.

The innovative and coordinating role of MITI is described in articles about future technology, the fifth generation of computers and "Technopolis," a science city for the 1990s. A few of the reasons for Japan's outstanding reduction in energy consumption in 1980 are evident in the engineer shortage that developed as industry sought mechanical and electrical engineers to develop and install energy-saving equipment.

An attitudinal difference between Japan and the United States rooted in a period of scarcity -- the use of returnable beer bottles -- is another example of conservation of raw materials and energy. From the Nikkan Kogyo Shimbun, this article appeared in several U.S. newspapers and may have given support to conservationists who were advocating the mandatory deposits.

Perhaps no single topic attracted as much attention as the Japanese-style labor management relations and the Quality Control (QC) movement. Hajime Karatsu takes a wry look at the QC boom and foreign comment about it, and finds much of it off the mark. To Karatsu it is not Japan's "peculiar social customs and culture" that are the key element in labor-management relations. Citing the Japanese National Railways as one example of gross inefficiency and poor morale, Karatsu isolates managerial skill as the crucial factor.

Two articles on how much company presidents in Japan are paid and the prevalence of mini-vacations shed light on incentives and the work ethic. On the one hand, Japanese chief executive officers receive relatively low (sometimes spectacularly low) remuneration compared to their Western counterparts. On the other hand, middle-management employees take on the average only five and a half days annually of the 20 vacation days they are entitled to. And 65 percent of the respondents in one survey say they are satisfied with such short respites from work.

Of the eight articles in the section on Japan in Asia, five concern ties with specific countries -- the People's Republic of China (2), Taiwan, South Korea and Afghanistan. Hiroki Fukamachi, disputing U.S. assessments of the reasons for and strategic consequences of the Soviet invasion, warns against excessive involvement in either Pakistan or efforts to aid the Afghan guerrillas. Closer to home, Tokuma Utsunomiya castigates the Republic of Korea's government for the arrest and trial of dissident Kim Dae-jung, an issue that plagued Tokyo-Seoul relations throughout 1980.

On the broader theme of Japan in Asia, Takeshi Hayashi reflects on his research on the value of Japan's industrialization experience to the Third World, noting that "technological competence is rooted deep in a nation's ethos, culture and social structure." The most criticized Japanese activity in Asia was the travel of highly visible all-male groups to fleshpots overseas. No one can defend sex tourism publicly, perhaps one reason why it is so frequently attacked. While Ken Otani deplores the practice as a disgrace to Japanese manhood, he puts it in a historical perspective that includes prostitution in Japan for the Occupation forces after World War II. Otani concludes with the reminder that "prostitution reflects the fluctuations in a country's economic power."

The eight essays in the Lifestyles and Attitudes section range from preferences in politics and food to conformity, alienation and the ritual of public apology by the Yomiuri Giants' manager Shigeo Nagashima.



Shuichi Kato describes, in a July 1980 piece in the Asahi Shimbun, the drift to the right in the United States and Japan. This article represents the highest standard of thoughtful analysis appearing in the Japanese press.

Japanese cuisine, lauded as sensitive by some and disparaged as bland by others, now includes many spicy elements. The transformation of kimchi from a smelly side dish favored by an ethnic minority to a respected place in the supermarket pickle section shows that the Japanese palate will try anything. True, kimchi in Japan is not as spicy as its native cousin on the Korean peninsula, just as curry rice in Japan is mild compared to its Indian namesake. But stronger curries are on the market and many Indian restaurants serving authentic dishes have opened in recent years. While American diners are discovering sushi, Japanese are finding new taste treats in hotter Korean and South Asian foods.

In "The Young Men in the Dark Blue Suits," an anonymous guest contributor to the Asahi Shimbun asks why the postwar generation raised with the "new values -- democracy, liberalism and individualism" all wear look-alike blue suits when applying for jobs with big corporations. While personnel officers say they want people with "personal qualities," the author concludes they really want conformists, good team players. Japanese executives have acquired a reputation for being well-groomed, but they have not yet been accused of personal flair or stylish individuality.

The public apology to assume responsibility is a ritual art form in Japan, full of rhetoric and emotion. Few do it better than Shigeo Nagashima, manager of the Yomiuri Giants in 1980. In an apology to the fans for the team's poor showing, Nagashima said he was "personally to blame and there can be no excuse for my performance." He then put most of the blame on the players, and he named two who just happened not to be Japanese, Hisao Niura (of Korean descent) and John Sipin (an American).

Nagashima was correct about one thing: that the Giants would do better next year. They won the pennant and the Japan Series in 1981.

But Nagashima was not there to enjoy it. Despite his apology, he was fired after the 1980 season.

The unfinished business of Japanese society is discussed in the Common Problems section. The partial agenda reflected in these articles includes environmental protection, women's rights and penal reform.

Yayori Matsui, in "Japanese Number One in Sexism," details government foot-dragging on the International Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. Prof. Hiroshi Tanaka's article, from Sekai, describes another aspect of discrimination against women, Japan's patriarchal citizenship law. There have been changes since they wrote, but pervasive male dominance and traditional attitudes about male and female roles, widely shared by both sexes, still hamper aspiring career women.

Environmental problems at home, filthy beaches, and out in the Pacific, where the government had hoped to dump radioactive waste, are included. Masao Nakamura, writing in the Yomiuri Shimbun, laments the anomaly of an island nation that has few clean public swimming beaches. Yasuo Miyake, former chairman of the Special Committee on Atomic Energy Problems, warns that only fail-safe engineering would convince Pacific islanders to allow the dumping of atomic waste. Strong opposition to the plan has continued, and the government has retreated from the original timetable.

There are two short whimsical pieces on inflation and jogging to a heart attack. This genre of light, amusing writing helps to leaven the serious monthly magazines.

\* \* \* \* \*

The articles in this collection went through a five-stage translation and editing process: (1) assignment to a translator, (2) correction and revision of the translator's draft by the U.S. editor (Baldwin), (3) checking of the revised draft by the Japanese editor (Kano), (4) consultation by Baldwin and Kano to reach the final version, and (5) typing and proofreading. This process was developed over the years by Tsutomu Kano and the staff of The Japan Interpreter. Undeniably time-consuming and expensive, in my experience no other arrangement achieves comparable accuracy and style.

TSC relied on about ten outside translators who were paid on a piecework basis. The minimum rate in 1980 was Y3,000 (\$13.35) per 400-character manuscript page (genkō yōshi). By nationality, five translators were American, three Japanese, one English and one Australian. Of this number, one (Japanese) was a professional translator, two aspired to become professionals, and the rest were primarily interested in earning supplementary income.

In stage 2 of the process outlined above, the draft manuscripts submitted by translators were checked for accuracy against the original Japanese text and, with notable exceptions, largely rewritten. The rewriting usually required two drafts. In the first, the objective was to get the text into clear, grammatical English and newspaper style, i.e., short paragraphs. To do this the draft had to be purged of factual errors and literal translatoresque.

The revised draft was typed and, when possible, put aside for a while, sometimes for a day but more likely for an hour. Even a short break from an article enables an editor to approach the text with a fresh perspective and see the glaring malapropisms unnoticed earlier.

In the second rewriting style was the major concern. I worked on similes, allusions and conciseness. Difficult factual or language problems were deferred till the consultation stage. The text was retyped and a copy was made for Mr. Kano with dubious places indicated by marginal notations.

At stage 3 Mr. Kano read the revised draft, checking it against the Japanese original, and marked incorrect or awkward parts. Among the many minor mistakes spotted at this point were incorrect personal, place and company names. A major source of error was often the translator and editor's lack of background information essential to understanding an article. Mr. Kano's task was to fill in those gaps.

Next was the crucial discussion stage, the missing link in most translation work and a major reason why the general level of work in Japan is so poor. With copies of the rewritten draft and the original article in front of us, Mr. Kano and I discussed those parts still in need of correction or revision. We tried to find the exact word or expression that would convey the meaning of the original.



How long did this discussion take? It depended upon the length of the article and other factors: the difficulty of the piece, how good a job the translator did, the discovery of special problems that required research or telephone calls and whether our creative juices were flowing. A short, relatively problem-free article may have been finished in twenty minutes, while a long, difficult piece on an unfamiliar subject may have taken two or three hours, sometimes longer.

Frank Baldwin  
Editor/Translator  
Translation Service Center

## National Security

No More Hemming and Hawing on Defense

by Ichiyo HINO, staff writer

(From the Nihon Keizai Shimbun, January 28, 1980)

Recent events have shown once again that we live in a dangerous and complicated world. A year ago, who would have predicted the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia, the occupation of the American Embassy in Teheran, or the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan?

It is a brave man who ventures to say what will happen tomorrow, but that is no excuse for national leaders to waffle on the issues. Presidents and prime ministers cannot play wait-and-see in the hopes of avoiding difficult or unpopular decisions. Now more than ever we need leaders with the judgment and courage to stake their political careers on well-defined, consistent policies, and who can explain those policies clearly and convincingly.

Several recent statements by Prime Minister Ohira leave much to be desired. During a January 22 press conference, he was asked: "In the past you have called the Soviet Union a 'defensively-oriented country.' Has the invasion of Afghanistan done anything to change your view?" The prime minister replied, "I still think the Soviets are defensively oriented. They are extremely cautious in foreign policy, and rarely make hasty decisions." He seemed to be saying that the invasion of Afghanistan was a legitimate, defensive operation and did not call for any special response on the part of Japan.

But according to members of Ohira's inner circle, this is not at all what he meant. What he wanted to convey was, "Before they act, the Soviets always weigh the possible advantages and disadvantages to themselves very carefully." If so, the prime minister should have also said that when the Russians see an advantage to be gained they will take drastic measures, including military intervention.

In effect the prime minister said the opposite of what he meant. No wonder reporters and other governments were confused. Ohira is famous for his vague pronouncements, but in this case his vagueness backfired and made him look like an apologist for the Soviets.

Ohira got into the same kind of trouble in a January 25 policy speech when he declared that "the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan cannot be justified on any grounds." Japan is prepared, he said, to retaliate by taking "appropriate steps (which) ... may call for a certain amount of sacrifice on our part, but that cannot be avoided." For once, he seemed to enunciate a crystal-clear position: Japan will follow the lead of the United States and other countries, even at the cost of painful sacrifices. But in fact the sacrifices Ohira was talking about were just trade sanctions and a possible boycott of the Moscow Olympics.

Regarding national security, the same speech contained only 80 words, nearly all abstract cliches: "The country's security should be sought with the development of comprehensive policies in all areas of foreign affairs, defense and domestic government...it is the policy of this government to continue to forge as high-quality a defense capability as necessary for self-defense based upon the Japan-U.S. security arrangements...."

Last year the U.S.S.R. established a military base on one of the small islands off Hokkaido which Japan considers Soviet-occupied Japanese territory. Moscow has deployed Backfire bombers and the aircraft carrier Minsk in the Far East. The Japanese people are concerned about this ominous buildup. Will Hokkaido be the next Afghanistan?

Ohira owes the public a clearer statement of the government's position. If Japan's Self-Defense Forces and the U.S. units stationed here are fully able to defend our country, the prime minister should say so and allay popular fears. If they are not, he should present a clear-cut plan to do something about it.

\* \* \* \* \*

End of the Arms Taboo  
by Shigeo NAGANO, Chairman  
Japan Chamber of Commerce and Industry  
(From the Asahi Shimbun, March 23, 1980)

Ever since the end of World War II, defense and arms production have been the great unmentionables in Japan's political and economic life. This attitude, natural as it may have been in the troubled years after the war, is now out of date. Thirty-five years have passed, and a great deal has changed in the world. The time has come for a more realistic public discussion of arms and defense.

As I pointed out in my recent speech before the Japan Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the scope and sophistication of a nation's defense industry have a significant impact on its overall technological and industrial capabilities. For a country as poor in natural resources as Japan, technological excellence offers the only hope for the future. Without a strong defense industry it may be difficult to develop the new generation of scientists and engineers we need so badly.

Japan has placed three restrictions on arms exports. We do not sell arms to 1) Communist countries, 2) countries at war or likely to become involved in a war, and 3) countries placed under an arms embargo by the United Nations. In addition, we even refrain from exporting arms to countries not covered by these limitations.

None of these policies are a matter of Japanese law or treaty agreements. They were voluntarily adopted by the government after World

War II in order to assure the world that Japan would not again resort to military adventurism. But by now the international community is satisfied that Japan is not a warlike nation. According to recent newspaper reports, there has even been a suggestion from the United States that Japan build an aircraft carrier and lease it to the U.S. Sixth Fleet.

If there is one thing that Japan needs to survive, it is oil. The members of the European Common Market are in a similar situation, but with a crucial difference. Whenever the oil-producing countries raise the price of their product, Europeans can retaliate by raising the price of the weapons they sell to the OPEC nations. Since arms production costs are secret, a 10 percent hike in the price of oil can be matched with a 10 or even 20 percent hike in the price of their weapons.

France has recently signed a large-scale barter agreement involving the exchange of oil for weapons. Is there any reason why Japan should not sign similar agreements? If other nations have no objections to Japan exporting arms, we could strengthen the weakest link in our economy.

When people praise the technological achievements of Japan's postwar shipbuilding industry, they sometimes forget that the shipbuilders learned their trade building battleships. This is a good example of how technological expertise in one area can bring unexpected benefits in another.

I am not suggesting that we immediately begin paying our oil bill with weapons. But arms are a trading chip, and we must ask whether Japan can compete in the international trading arena with its hands tied behind its back. The Japanese people realize that we need high-quality weapons for our own self-defense forces, and they are willing to pay for them. The arms taboo has outlived its purpose.

\* \* \* \* \*



A Second Look at Japan's Defense Policy  
by Tomohisa SAKANAKA, Senior staff writer  
(From the Asahi Shimbun, April 19, 1980)

A combination of increasing turbulence in international relations and U.S. pressure is gradually bringing about a shift in Japanese attitudes towards national defense. Domestic critics backed by business circles have begun to attack the customary view, based on the "Peace" Constitution, that Japan's defense forces should be kept to the barest minimum.

The U.S. government has long been dissatisfied with Japan's level of defense spending, but until recently refrained from open criticism. This reticence disappeared in the wake of the Iranian revolution and the Russian invasion of Afghanistan.

Two visits to Tokyo by Defense Secretary Harold Brown demonstrate this shift in U.S. policy. When Brown stopped in Tokyo after a visit to South Korea in October 1979, he did not mention Japan's defense efforts except to say that the decision of whether or not to increase defense capabilities was up to the Japanese themselves. Brown returned to Japan in January 1980, on his way home from a visit to China. This time he specifically asked the late Prime Minister Masayoshi Ohira, the then Defense Agency Director General Enji Kubota and other top officials to increase defense spending.

The United States wants Japan to bear an appropriate share of responsibility for its own security. In light of the Soviet military buildup, the United States and its European allies have agreed to increase military spending by more than three percent per year in real terms. The United States itself has authorized a real increase of 5.4 percent in 1980, though actual expenditures will increase only about 3.3 percent. The Japanese defense budget for fiscal 1980 is up by 6.5 percent over the previous year, but Brown has complained that the increase in real terms amounts to a mere 1.5 percent.

Japanese decisions on defense spending seem to be influenced less by the considerations of how much defense capability will be improved than by a calculation of what percentage increase is needed to reduce friction with the United States. The 1980 appropriation for military spending was set at 0.9 percent of GNP -- the same rate as last year. The Finance Ministry was reluctant to approve what it considered a high rate of defense spending. The ministry was persuaded to do so only by a "united front" consisting of the Defense Agency, the Ministry of Home Affairs and the ruling Liberal Democratic Party. The "front" acted more from a sense of loyalty to the United States than from a desire to improve defensive capabilities.

The United States seeks an increase in Japanese defense spending, not only in the absolute terms but also as a percentage of GNP. In July 1979, the Defense Agency formulated a five-year plan which called for a gradual increase in spending up to one percent of GNP by fiscal 1984. The plan also called for increasing the proportion of the defense budget allotted to acquisition of equipment, including warplanes and vessels. In five years the amount allocated for equipment improvement would be approximately \$11 billion, according to Defense Agency projections. The plan will face stiff opposition because of the current sluggishness of Japan's economy. The United States backs the plan, but insists that its goals be met within four years instead of five. Compliance with that request would require bold political decisions.

Nevertheless, defense efforts in Japan do not face the unbending opposition they once did. Public opinion is changing. According to a recent poll by the Asahi Shimbun, more than 80 percent of survey respondents indicated support for the Japan Self-Defense Forces (SDF), and many called for a stepped-up defense capability.

Opposition political parties are also changing their positions on national defense. The Democratic Socialist party (DSP) has become active in supporting the U.S.-Japan security treaty and the SDF. The Buddhist Komeito has given provisional approval of both the treaty and the SDF in order to establish a centrist coalition with the DSP. The



biggest opposition party, the Japan Socialist party (JSP), has been a longtime opponent of the treaty and the SDF. Nevertheless, in its efforts to form a coalition with the Komeito, the JSP has modified its stance, declaring that it "seeks to abrogate the security treaty, but for the time being will strive to create an international environment which would make the abrogation possible." Although it has not dropped the demand for an unarmed and neutral Japan, the JSP actually supports the status quo. Indeed, all major parties, with the exception of the Japan Communist party, are slowly reaching a consensus on the need for the Self Defense Forces and the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty.

Business leaders are among the most enthusiastic supporters of national defense. Hosai Hyuga, president of the Kansai Economic Federation, proposed on February 7 to increase Japan's defense spending to 1.9 percent of the GNP, which would bring it up to the same level as Switzerland. He also urged that Japan consider instituting a conscription system. On March 19, Shigeo Nagano, president of the Japan Chamber of Commerce and Industry, proposed that controls on weapons exports be lifted. Such opinions reflect a strong desire in the business world for an improvement in Japan's defense capabilities.

These views result from a sense of crisis in international relations and are not expressions of a desire to expand the defense industry. Citing unrest in the Middle East and trade friction with the United States, many business leaders expect the 1980s to be an unstable period. Nevertheless, their defense proposals seem somewhat unrealistic.

It will be politically difficult to increase the percentage of GNP allocated for defense from 0.9 percent to one percent and a massive jump to 1.9 percent is simply impossible. Similarly, a conscription system cannot be instituted; the idea has virtually no popular support.

Weapons exports are equally unfeasible. Aside from the moral objections, Japan lags behind other nations in the field of arms technology. The United States spends \$16.5 billion per year for the development of weapons -- an amount that exceeds Japan's total defense

budget. The United States and the Soviet Union almost monopolize the world weapons market. If Japan were to enter this market, it would face fierce competition from the two superpowers, leading to friction similar to that created by the current "automobile war."

Unrealistic proposals from the business community only impede the formation of a national consensus over defense. Such a consensus, resulting from honest and open debate, will be necessary to enable Japan to survive the turbulent decade of the 1980s.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Front Line: Hokkaido Confronts the Soviet Union  
by Hiroshi KIMURA, Prof. of Soviet Affairs, Hokkaido University  
(From the Sankei Shimbun, June 12, 1980)

Long ignored by Japanese living on the other major islands of the country, the northernmost island of Hokkaido has become a key factor in Japan's relations with the Soviet Union. Since the mid-1970s, a series of incidents have focused increasing attention on Hokkaido. These include the landing of a Soviet Mig-25 at Hokkaido's Hakodate airport (1976), fishing rights talks between Japan and the Soviet Union (1977), the signing of a Sino-Japanese peace and friendship treaty (1978), the Soviet military buildup on the Russian-occupied "Northern Islands" which Japan claims (1979), and the disclosure this year that Hokkaido fishermen have been providing the Russians with information relating to Japan's defense in exchange for permission to fish in Soviet waters. Also, Sapporo will be the site of a new Chinese consulate.

Hokkaido's new prominence in Japanese affairs has made it the subject of sensation-seeking journalism. Articles with such provocative titles as "The Soviets' Next Target is Hokkaido!" have begun to appear in Japanese newspapers and magazines. They have been matched by full-length books, including Eleven-day War in Hokkaido and Let's Get Back Kunashiri Island (one of the four Russian-occupied "Northern Islands").

How do residents feel about the role of Hokkaido and the fact that it is getting so much attention? What are their feelings towards the Russians? Do they regard the Soviet Union as a "Northern menace"? Wherever I travel in Japan, I am asked these same questions.

The people of Hokkaido have long had ambivalent feelings towards the Soviet Union. On the one hand, they have had high hopes for active commercial trade with the Russians. Hokkaido has 5 million people, or almost five percent of the entire Japanese population, but it produces much less than five percent of the national GNP. The deficiency is covered by subsidies from the central government. To the people of Hokkaido, coastal trade with the Russians seems the easiest way to escape the stigma of living on the dole.

On the other hand, Hokkaido residents harbor a deep fear of the Soviet Union. The heavily armed communist nation has not yet signed a peace treaty with Japan as a final settlement to World War II, and Soviet territory is visible to the naked eye from parts of Hokkaido. Anti-Soviet feelings are intensified by the presence of people repatriated to Japan from Sakhalin and the "Northern Islands" after World War II. Many of them still resent their treatment at the hands of the Russians when they were forced to leave their islands.

People in Hokkaido also doubt that Japan's Self-Defense Forces (SDF) would be able to protect them in a confrontation with the Soviet Union. Only a few SDF units are stationed here and there, and since there is no American base in Hokkaido, they cannot depend on U.S. troops. The Japanese government confined itself to a verbal protest when it discovered Soviet military facilities on the "Northern Islands." No prime minister has ever visited Hokkaido to see these islands.

The balance of conflicting sentiments of fear and the desire for trade has shifted during the past five years; the fears have grown stronger while hopes for trade have weakened. Soviet actions near Hokkaido have done nothing to assure the local people that relations can be improved. One index of this trend is the number of students enrolled in the Russian language course offered at Hokkaido University in

Sapporo. It has dropped sharply, while anti-Soviet books have become best sellers in local bookstores.

This does not mean that the people of Hokkaido have panicked in the face of the Soviet menace. They tend to suppress fears of a Soviet invasion by a sort of self-hypnosis, because they know that they could not escape such an attack. I feel bitter towards people in other parts of Japan who make irresponsible remarks about the possibility of a Soviet invasion of Hokkaido because it could be a matter of life and death to us who live there.

A new attitude towards the Russians is beginning to emerge among the people of Hokkaido. They no longer expect much from the Russians, and they do not fear them excessively. They realize that their own actions will not cause the Russians to yield on any issue affecting the interests of Hokkaido and the Soviet Union. They also know that it would be unwise to flatly tell the Soviets to leave them alone, because difficult bilateral problems remain -- especially those concerning the "Northern Islands" and fishery rights.

Is there any reasonable way to get along with this troublesome neighbor? The people of Hokkaido are searching for answers. As an academician, for example, I preside over monthly study meetings and forums entitled "The Soviet Union and Hokkaido" and "The Security of Hokkaido." I continue to hope that Japan's political leaders will put our safety high on their agenda.

\* \* \* \* \*



The Free Ride is Overr  
 Japan Should Double Defense Expenditures  
 by Hosai HYUGA, chairman of the board,  
 Sumitomo Metal Industries Ltd.  
 (From the Asahi Shimbun, August 23, 1980)

The Suzuki administration, in a political compromise, has decided on a 9.7 percent increase in the 1981 defense budget. But this is not a real breakthrough in national defense policy. A nation's independence and security are the foundation of life, freedom and property. National security is the solumn obligation of government, and defense expenditures must have top priority.

The people of Western Europe, with their long history of invasions and occupations, understand the need to sacrifice for defense. Their governments accord primacy to national security policy.

Japan was defeated in World War II and was the only nation attacked with nuclear weapons, but most Japanese did not personally suffer foreign invasion and the horrors of ground warfare. In the postwar period, there has been little public understanding of national defense requirements.

Thanks to the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty, Japanese gave defense short shrift and concentrated on economic growth. When the Security Treaty was revised in 1960, defense spending was more than 10 percent of the national budget. In later years, this ratio declined and it has fallen recently to as little as 5.4 percent. Japan has been enjoying a free ride on defense.

A comparison of Japan's defense expenditures with those of major Western nations shows how inexpensive the ride has been. In defense spending as a percentage of GNP, the figures are:

Japan - 0.9, France - 3.3, West Germany - 3.4, Britain - 4.7,  
 and the United States - 5.0.

For defense spending per capita (US\$), the figures arer

Japan - \$87, France - \$349, West Germany - \$396,  
Britain - \$312, and the United States - \$520.

Finally, for defense spending as a percentage of the budget:

Japan - 5.4 percent, France - 17.5 percent, West Germany - 22.3 percent, Britain - 11.5 percent and the United States - 21.5 percent.

In all three categories, Japan's defense spending is only one-third or one-fourth that of major Western nations. Can Japan's security be maintained at this level of expenditure?

Luckily, until the end of the 1970s Japan was able to get by on the cheap. Now the world political and military situation has changed dramatically and the free ride is over.

First, the East-West balance of power has shifted due to enormous increases in Soviet armaments and Moscow's direct and indirect military intervention in areas of strategic importance like Afghanistan, Indochina and Africa.

Second, because of its relative decline in national strength the United States can no longer afford the burden of responsibility for protecting the West.

Third, the Soviet Union's establishment of military bases on the islands off Hokkaido which are claimed by Japan, the larger Russian fleet now based at Vladivostock, and the positioning of nuclear missiles in the Far East have drastically increased the threat to Japan.

Of course, non-military efforts such as diplomacy, economic cooperation and cultural exchange are also extremely important to Japan's security. But in view of the Soviet Union's ruthless invasion of Afghanistan, there is no security without a military deterrent. Any nation must maintain a certain level of defense capability.

To say that Japan's military security depends on the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty is a truism, but for this treaty to function effectively, Japan must bear its part of the burden. If the reports are true that the Self-Defense Forces (SDF) can only hold out against a

Soviet invasion force for a few weeks, or that the people of Hokkaido are very apprehensive about a Russian attack, we are not doing our share

At the very least, we must quickly provide ourselves with the capability to hold out until U.S. forces come to our aid, as provided by the security treaty. To attain an effective local deterrent, I have proposed that military expenditures be raised to 1.9 percent of GNP, equivalent to Switzerland's. Regarding nuclear war, we have no choice but to rely on the American nuclear deterrent

Some Japanese oppose an increase in our armed forces from a fear of resurgent militarism. But an improved SDF would still be strictly limited to self-defense and have no offensive capability. It will not be expanded beyond the strength required to deal with a localized conflict

The Maritime Self-Defense Forces, for example, should be increased to about 180,000 tons. It would still not be anywhere near the 1,200,000 tons of the former Imperial Navy. By strict maintenance of civilian control, as practiced in Western nations, the Self-Defense Forces can be kept on a tight leash. Rather than fearing the chimera of insubordination, we should give the SDF proper recognition and adequate funding.

To maintain the peace, freedom and affluence we enjoy, each citizen must be resolved, of his own free will, to defend the country. And to insure that Japan not be plunged into war, national preparedness sufficient to deter aggression is our most urgent task.

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The Russians Are Coming! or Are They?  
by Keiichiro HIKITA, senior staff writer  
(From the Asahi Shimbun, August 25, 1980)

My jet flight from Tokyo to Sapporo, Hokkaido took 80 minutes and the local flight by a propeller plane reached Wakkanai in 65 minutes. It had been raining in Tokyo and Sapporo, but the weather in Wakkanai was beautiful. Across the calm Soya strait I could clearly see the Russian-held Sakhalin Island.

My assignment in Wakkanai was to investigate the "Russian threat" to Hokkaido. Several books have been published recently warning of an imminent Soviet invasion of Japan across the Soya strait. The authors say Wakkanai will be the first place occupied by Russian troops.

A magazine reported that invasion rumors were rampant in Wakkanai. In Tokyo I was told that people in Wakkanai, fearing an attack, were putting less money into local banks and had built a Russo-Japanese friendship hall to flee to in case of invasion. I wondered if these reports could be true.

In Wakkanai I spoke to many persons, including the mayor, the president of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, fishermen and local journalists. They all laughed about the invasion rumors. Typical comments were, "nothing but false rumors" and "I never heard of anyone in Wakkanai being afraid of a Russian attack."

Some told of amazing telephone calls from relatives, friends and business contacts in Tokyo asking if they were all right. Many people said, "Hokkaido will never be the only battlefield. By the time Wakkanai is attacked, Tokyo'll have been levelled by nuclear missiles."

Everyone suspects ulterior motives behind the Tokyo talk of a Soviet threat. "Unless the government emphasizes the danger to Hokkaido, it cannot increase the defense budget," said one person. "After all, American pressure can't always be cited as the reason. It doesn't look right. The government has to find some rationale of its own to justify expanding the military."

Fishermen particularly resented the Soviet scare. Wakkanai is a fishing city and depends on the catch from the waters around Sakhalin. Ever since the 200-mile-limit agreements between the Soviet Union and Japan came into effect, the codfish haul has decreased by half and the whole town has been hard hit economically.

Everytime Tokyo antagonizes the Kremlin, the Russian retaliate by seizing fishing boats and tightening restrictionse When Japan boycotted the Olympics, fishermen were very worried. They wonder how the Soviets will react to the Japanese government's recent decision to arm Japan Self-Defense Force aircraft with missiles.

In July, construction of a Russo-Japanese Friendship Hall was completed on a wharf in Wakkanai harbor. Scoffing at the rumor that it was a refugee center in case of attack, city officials said it was a hospitality building for crew members of Soviet vessels which visit Wakkanai twice a month. The Russians have been treating injured Japanese fishermen in Sakhalin free of charge, and the city wants to reciprocate. To promote mutual understanding, visits between Wakkanai and Sakhalin have increased yearly.

Wakkanai's prosperity depends on friendship between the Soviet Union and Japan. Ironically, as the relations between the two countries worsen, the city is trying harder to maintain good ties. The city council, conservatives and progressives, agreed to allocate \$90,000 toward the cost of the new hall and to invite Ambassador Dmitri Polyansky to its openinge

The Japanese government position is that "We appreciate the sentiment of the people of Wakkanai, but they should understand that friendship is a Soviet strategy 'to undermine Japan's demand for the return of the Northern Territories'."

A Wakkanai resident replies, "How can we ever get the Northern Territories back unless we establish better understanding through cordial contacts between our two countries." Another adds, "The government's panic over the small friendship hall we built shows how bad our policy is toward the Soviet Union."

I don't know if all 54,000 residents of Wakkanai share the opinions I heard. It wouldn't be strange if some of the townspeople, living right next door to a nuclear superpower like the Soviet Union, were concerned about a Russian attack. Yet any fears they have come not from across the Soya strait but from the "Soviet threat" campaign in Tokyo.

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Don't Listen to the Pentagon, Premier Suzuki  
by Nobuo KUROKAWA, Former adviser on  
national security affairs to the late Prime Minister Ohira  
(From the Asahi Shimbun, August 26, 1980)

Japan should not be intimidated or bamboozled by incessant U.S. pressure to drastically increase our defense budget. We must take a good hard look at our security needs and at Washington's arm twisting.

When the late Premier Masayoshi Ohira and President Jimmy Carter met in Washington last May, the president apparently requested an increase in Japan's defense capacity. At a press conference, Ohira expressed his hope for a "solid defense effort to be undertaken at Japan's initiative." But when Ohira was questioned in the Diet (parliament), he denied having made any promise to the United States to strengthen the Self-Defense Forces (SDF).

After Ohira's sudden death in June, the new Zenko Suzuki cabinet moved immediately to raise the defense budget. U.S. Ambassador Mike Mansfield, long considered a reliable dove, tacitly endorsed these moves by revealing that the Carter administration had made such a request to Premier Ohira in May.

The Pentagon chimed in on cue with an interview granted to the Kyodo News Agency. Department of Defense spokesmen, as if we couldn't think of it ourselves, raised the hypothetical case of a foreign attack on Japan and pointed out that the Russians could launch a major assault against Hokkaido. They flatly predicted that Japan's defenses would be

inadequate to withstand such an attack. The Pentagon then lined up its PR steamroller behind the Japan Defense Agency's bid to expedite its buildup plan by one year.

When Mr. Ohira was premier, he never even considered committing Japan to a sharp boost in defense expenditures at the bidding of the Carter administration. I worked closely with him for the past eight and a half years with responsibility for analyzing Japan's security and foreign policy in global terms. We had many frank exchanges on such issues as Japan's defense policy, improving relations with China, the situation in Korea and the Middle East and, of course, our ties with the United States.

The prime minister also discussed the increasing military strength of the Soviet Union. I think I understood his basic views on security policy and the minimum requirements of national defense.

Ohira appreciated America's huge defense outlays in the nuclear arms race with the Soviet Union, and he was concerned about the relative decline in U.S. economic power. He believed Japan should pay more of the cost of maintaining U.S. forces in Japan.

However, one thing is certain. With Japan already spending \$10 billion on the SDF, Ohira never intended to allocate vast additional sums to our own forces, especially when his first priority was to slash the annual budget deficits.

President Carter's foreign policy is losing credibility among its allies and Third World nations. His administration's responses to the crises in Iran and Afghanistan suggest terminal myopia. The Carter team has been widely criticized for its emotional one-upmanship designed to win domestic political support.

The Pentagon's exaggeration of "the Soviet threat" in order to hype its own budget is well known. The U.S. Defense Department has no scruples about employing the same tricks to force a boost in Japan's defense spending. This attitude shows a contempt for both Japan's autonomy and our own judgment of the world situation.



Fortunately, Prime Minister Suzuki is trying to follow Ohira's defense policies. I, for one, will be watching very closely to see if Suzuki really understands Ohira's balanced approach and how he handles the rash, hawkish pressure.

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### Japan's Military Forces: A Threat to Civilian Lives

by Saburo IENAGA

professor of history, Chuo University;

author of The Pacific War, Pantheon Books, 1978.

(From the Asahi Shimbun, November 1, 1980)

In recent months a growing number of Japanese writers, politicians and businessmen have voiced fears that Japan faces a "threat of invasion" from the Soviet Union, and have called with growing insistence for stronger military forces. There is even a movement to amend the postwar "Peace" Constitution to allow creation of full-fledged military forces. These martial voices stir painful memories of the disastrous war that ended 35 years ago.

We should have learned through our own bitter experience that military forces cannot be trusted to act in the interests of the people. The Imperial Japanese Army started the war knowing full well that it had the capacity to fight for only two years. When it became obvious long before the end of the conflict that Japan's defeat was inevitable, the Army would not give up. The results of this intransigence included the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the decision of the Soviet Union to enter the war against us.

The military insisted that we fight on to the bitter end on the home islands of Japan. Had the war been terminated earlier, several millions of our countrymen would not have been killed. It was obvious that the military had little regard for the lives of the Japanese people.

The military's contempt for civilians was demonstrated repeatedly during the last stages of the war. As the situation in Manchuria deteriorated, Japan's Imperial Kwantung Army left Japanese civilians to their fate and retreated. Innumerable memoirs have revealed the tragedies these civilians faced after the Kwantung Army deserted them. One witness recalls that Japanese military personnel retreated from northern Korea by train, but no civilians were permitted on board. Soldiers brandished swords and shouted, "Stay here and die!" at their civilian countrymen who tried to cling to the train. In Okinawa, where fierce fighting took place, Japanese soldiers trying to save themselves drove local civilians out of shelters and into artillery fire. Some soldiers even slaughtered innocent Okinawan children and old people.

Today what would happen if there were a "defensive" war in Japan's homeland? Counterattacks on an invading army would produce a tragedy far greater than if Japan had been invaded 35 years ago. The much higher concentration of population in cities, and the increased destructive power of modern weapons would cause incalculable suffering.

If an invasion of Japan were to occur, many military analysts believe it would take the form of a Soviet move against Hokkaido, Japan's northernmost major island. Hiroomi Kurisu, former chairman of the Joint Staff Council of the Self-Defense Forces (SDF), described what might follow an invasion of Hokkaido. Kurisu wrote that if the people of Hokkaido wanted the SDF to refrain from counterattacks because there would be heavy civilian casualties, the SDF would respect their wishes.

But once under Soviet control, Kurisu warns, Hokkaido would no longer be Japanese territory, and therefore "might be exposed to air raids by the SDF and U.S. forces on Honshu." Thus Kurisu publicly declared that the SDF, like the old Imperial Army and Navy, would not hesitate to take the lives of Japanese civilians in order to save its own troops.

Under the U.S.-Japan security treaty, the SDF is incorporated into America's global military strategy; its role is similar to the one the Manchurian Army performed as a "puppet army" of the Japanese Empire.

This link to the Pentagon increases the threat to Japanese lives. Although the Japanese SDF is, in theory, purely defensive, there is no way under the security treaty to prevent Japan from being dragged into an all-out war, even a nuclear war, if the U.S. forces want it that way. "Defense" by military forces is a slippery path to a holocaust for Japan.

The threat of war precipitated by the existence of the armed forces is far more serious than the threat of invasion from another country. To safeguard life and freedom without using military power will require an enormous effort, but if Japan is to survive, alternatives must be found.

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A Vote for MacArthur's Constitution  
by Tatsuzo ISHIKAWA, Novelist  
(From the Asahi Shimbun, November 20, 1980)

Justice Minister Seisuke Okuno and some other conservative politicians are demanding revision of Article 9 of the constitution, the Renunciation of War clause. They argue that Japan cannot defend itself unless this article is scrapped. Supporters of Article 9 insist that Okuno resign and Premier Zenko Suzuki promise not to change the constitution.

I have many misgivings about the whole controversy. It is far from clear where "defense" ends and "war potential," forbidden by Article 9, begins. Some insist that missiles for defensive purposes are not unconstitutional, but with the new weapons systems, the distinction between defensive and offensive capability has been blurred.

Japan may be capable of defending itself against a small-scale, conventional attack. But if a major military force invades, our lack of material stockpiles and dependence on imported food ensure certain defeat in six months or less. It would be a replay of the last months of the Pacific War with our cities burned out and the population near



starvation. Let there be no mistake about this: unaided, Japan's independent defense capability is puny.

This does not mean, however, that we can trust the American nuclear umbrella. The United States may use Japan -- the ground and air bases in Okinawa, the Yokosuka naval facilities -- for its own purposes but it will not risk nuclear destruction for Japan.

Many Diet members from the ruling Liberal-Democratic party demand that Japan write its own constitution in place of the Occupation-imposed charter sponsored by General Douglas MacArthur. Unlike many defenders of the postwar constitution, I do not deny that it was forced on us. But it does not necessarily follow that it is a bad document. Motive is important here. Why did General MacArthur impose it?

When MacArthur became Supreme Commander in August 1945 with dictatorial power over Japan, his hands were bloodied by years of battle. The new constitution was intended to prevent the remilitarization of Japan; MacArthur's purpose was not to punish the Japanese or destroy this country.

The general had a noble goal: to make occupied Japan into a country that would never again suffer the ravages of war. The ad nauseam repetition of the phrase "eternal peace" in the constitution's preamble attests to his idealism. Although the preamble reads like a poor translation, anyone who fails to appreciate MacArthur's profound commitment to peace is a fool who cannot see the forest for the trees.

General MacArthur was the murderer of a million people, the destroyer of cities full of civilians and the theater commander involved in the atomic holocaust of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Yet this tough soldier's final ambition seems to have been to create a country of peace, a beacon to the world. MacArthur's romantic ideal was fulfilled in the preamble and Article 9, the provision now viciously attacked as naive.

This is not to say that everything the Occupation did was fair and noble. When the present "imposed" constitution was being considered by the Diet, the Allies were trying thousands of alleged Japanese war

criminals. Several thousand were convicted and hundreds executed. The trials were an outrageous charade, a victor's justice imposed on the vanquished. Japanese should review these judgments and, where warranted by the facts, remove the war crimes' stigma from those unjustly convicted.

The Korean War broke out in June 1950 and shattered MacArthur's dream. He reversed himself and demanded that Japan rearm. In other words, in time of war the United States had to use Japan. We should have held up that visionary constitution as a shield and said "No, we do not want to be dragged into an American war."

Prof. Ikutaro Shimizu, a super-hawkish polemicist, has called for Japan to "stand up like a man." He argues that Japan is a "non-state" and that to be a real nation, a country must have a defense capability, including nuclear weapons. Of course, we cannot be defenseless, but a military buildup entails sacrifice. The big-defense advocates should also discuss the costs, material and human. Japan is supposed to be a democracy, and any debate over defense must take into consideration the will of the people.

From the 1930s, several million Japanese went off to die "for the Emperor" in China and the Pacific War without a word of protest. But the times have changed. Japanese today are not going to throw away their lives for the politicians and bureaucrats who now run the country. Who can demand that the people fight for Japan? The public should be consulted before there is any huge increase in military expenditures. The conservative victory in the July 1980 election was not a mandate for constitutional revision or an inflated defense budget.

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**U.S.-Japan Relations**

Keep Cool, America!

by Nagayo HONMA, Professor

American Studies at Tokyo University

(From the Sankei Shimbun, February 13, 1980)

Japan has plenty of its own problems these days and we do not want to compound them by having to figure out what America will do next. Since 1945 the relationship with the United States has been the cornerstone of our foreign policy, and we have never wavered in our commitment to cooperation. But now, under the leadership of Jimmy Carter, we are being asked to join in what seems to be an increasingly hysterical approach to difficulties the United States cannot solve alone. Japanese are deeply worried about the danger of being implicated.

Unlike his euphoric State of the Union message two years ago, Carter's speech this year could not gloss over the crises confronting his country. It was depressing, for it revealed just how far this administration has turned back the clock. We had been encouraged that at last, under Carter, U.S. foreign policy might be moving away from the nervous morbid preoccupation with Russia for the first time since the 1950s. Now we hear the same administration proclaiming a "new cold-war era."

George Kennan, author of the original containment policy, warns, while censuring the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, that America's way

of dealing with the situation is unbalanced. Our own anxiety deepens when Kennan voices fears about the mood in Washington, where radical belligerent thought and speech are more widespread than at any time since World War II. He emphasizes the importance of dialogue between the West and the Soviet Union, but he is criticized for being too soft. The president's appeals to patriotism, in an effort to restore his political support, fan the flames of anti-Soviet feeling throughout the United States.

Election years make it all the more difficult for Americans to work out a rational, cool-headed foreign policy. If the major candidates decide to use Russia as central planks in their platforms, then the freedom of choice in U.S. foreign policy will be dangerously narrowed.

In a sense, Mike Mansfield, U.S. ambassador in Tokyo, spoke for Japanese in a recent speech at the Japan National Press Club. He underlined the "productive partnership" between Tokyo and Washington, and pointed out that this partnership was being challenged by the seizure of American hostages in Iran and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. But he added that the aggressive Soviet move "does not mean that it (the U.S.S.R.) must remain forever beyond the pale of normal relations, that we do not have important interests in common with it, or that we will not continue to seek cooperation in areas that contribute to peace and security." This was a clear admonition to the hardliners from a man who is all too aware that the Soviet Union will, like it or not, continue to be a global player in the game of world politics, no matter what the United States does.

The United States has experienced spells of mass hysteria generated by fanatical patriotism. During World War I, the word "dachshund" was replaced by "liberty dog" to avoid the use of German, and during World War II, Japanese-Americans were put into relocation camps. Kennan, Mansfield, and two generations of Japanese remember those times, and we all hope they will never recur.

At this critical moment, Japan must play an active role to demonstrate its productive partnership with the United States. This

includes efforts to improve our defense capability and preparation for any conceivable anti-Japanese reaction that might occur in the United States. We need also to diversify our communications channels to the United States, and use them to improve the dialogue between Tokyo and Washington. We can use those channels best right now to urge our American friends to recover their confidence and determination in parrying the Soviet Union. Our own self-interest demands that we try and help the United States keep its cool and regain a sense of balance in its diplomacy.

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Don't Blame Japan for Low U.S. Productivity  
(From the Nikkan Kogyo Shimbun, March 4, 1980)

Many of the verbal assaults on Japan by U.S. industry in recent years have a hollow ring. Steel and automotive manufacturers in particular have no one but themselves to blame for their troubles. Instead of accepting the responsibility for past mistakes and resolving to correct them, U.S. manufacturers have tried to blame "unfair competition" from Japan. But this is a smokescreen. The causes for the decline in U.S. productivity lie in America, not in Japan.

About 170,000 U.S. auto workers are unemployed, about 11 percent of the 1.5-million strong United Auto Workers union. If we include workers in related industries, the number of furloughed auto workers rises to a staggering 220,000. These workers have been laid off because of Chrysler's near bankruptcy and the sagging profits of Ford and General Motors. Low profits in turn are the result of the Big Three's stubborn refusal to meet the American consumers' demand for economical compact cars.

Despite these indisputable facts, however, auto executives persist in blaming their troubles on Japanese imports. Not only has there been more talk recently of imposing import quotas, but Japanese automakers are now being pressed to set up assembly plants in the United States.



If it were true that the Big Three cannot sell cars in their domestic market because of Japanese dumping, these proposal might have some merit. The plain fact is that the Big Three are now being punished for ignoring the American consumer.

The case of U.S. steelmakers is similar. Japanese firms have surpassed them because U.S. management neglected to invest in plant improvements and technological research. Instead of admitting that fact, they have resorted to indiscriminate attacks on Japanese culture and employment practices, claiming that Japan is a nation of workaholics, and that the lifelong employment system has produced a breed of fanatical overachievers driven by blind loyalty to their companies.

A Biblical proverb states, "as you sow, so shall you reap." U.S. manufacturers would do well to ponder it before they criticize other countries.

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Bull in a China Shop  
(From the Sankei Shimbun, March 5, 1980)

On February 29 an American conservationist went to Iki Island in southern Japan, located the nets in which fisherman had ensnared about 450 dolphins, and cut them all open, setting more than 250 dolphins free. On the same day it was reported that a California entrepreneur had established a "sperm bank" to breed "superbabies" fathered exclusively by Nobel Prize winners.

An individual does not embody all the traits of his nation, nor were the acts of these two men necessarily "American" actions that no one else would have considered. Still, in motive and expression, they seem to reflect the good intentions and burning sense of mission that are so often associated with "Americanism."

The conservationist from Hawaii who dove into the frigid night sea to liberate the dolphins could no longer endure the slaughter, it was reported, even though he knew that the animals were ruining the Iki fishing grounds. The California business tycoon who founded the sperm bank was quoted as saying, "The concept of a master race doesn't enter into the project. The idea is to produce a few more productive citizens than the world would otherwise have."

In both cases, the motive undoubtedly sprang from a sense of justice, but justice entails sacrifices. The conservationist never considered the livelihood of the Iki fishermen or Japanese eating habits. The businessman from California, also, seems blithely unaware of the nightmare that the blind pursuit of technology could bring about.

Seeking to win friends and influence people is definitely a trait of the American people. At the time of the Vietnam War they were likened to a benign bull in a china shop. Meaning no harm, the bull smashed another shelf of pots to smithereens each time it moved. Most Japanese like Americans. But nothing causes so much trouble as to think, "There is only one justice in this world, and it is on my side."

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#### National Interest and Security --

#### Japan Rethinks Priorities

(From the Mainichi Shimbun, March 24, 1980)

Fumihiko Togo finished his tour as Japanese ambassador to America in late March after 49 months' service in Washington. When he assumed the post in February 1976, the Lockheed scandal had already broken, revealing years of bribery and corruption in the sale of U.S.-made airplanes in Japan. Then came another round in the economic "war" between the two countries over Japan's huge trade surplus and the "closed" Japanese market. Friction on that front kept U.S.-Japan relations tense for more than a year.

These problems were difficult enough, but Togo had an even harder time when the U.S. Embassy in Iran was seized and the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. Togo admitted that his toughest job was to explain Japan's reaction. "For one thing," he said, "Japan has had little experience so far in dealing with an economic problem combined with an issue in international politics." It was crucial to "accurately grasp American feelings before we started to act," said the former ambassador. Togo's first task was to prevent a "perception gap" from misleading policy makers in Tokyo.

"If he can convince his own government and relevant interest groups, a diplomat's job is more than half done," says Togo. During the Iranian crisis, he repeatedly warned Tokyo that if Japan insisted on buying large volumes of Iranian oil at high prices, what was basically an economic problem would flare up into something much bigger. An angry U.S. public would vent their frustration on Japan.

But Japan bought the Iranian oil, and just as Togo had predicted, Americans lashed out at Japan for a second "Pearl Harbor." Japan's image was severely damaged. "We checked all our sources in Washington," said Togo, "but the one that said it was OK to buy Iranian oil was wrong."

Why did Japan make the purchase despite repeated warnings from its ambassador in Washington? Many factors were involved, including the information analysis capabilities of the Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of International Trade and Industry, and jurisdictional conflicts between the two ministries. But one thing is clear: for Fumihiko Togo, Japan's purchase of Iranian oil was the single most regrettable development during his tenure as ambassador.

Circumstances have changed since World War II, Togo points out. For 25 years after 1945, "Japan could make economic demands on the United States without worrying about national security. For a long time Americans acquiesced, because Japan's trade with the United States continually showed a deficit. But by the 1970s their relative positions

in trade were changing rapidly, and Japanese-American relations changed too."

But Japan, the ambassador continued, "cannot easily break a 25-year habit in its relations with the United States." Accordingly, Japanese still "approach foreign policy issues in terms of how best to cooperate with the United States. When there is a major international crisis, like those in Iran or Afghanistan, Japan should act on the basis of its own interests, rather than accommodating to Washington."

This may seem all too obvious, but Togo's comments, based on 40-odd years as a diplomat, indicate that the point is still not understood in Japan. According to Togo, the question, "What does the United States want Japan to do?" must not affect the totality of Japanese diplomacy.

"The level of power Japan has achieved economically is bound to cause irritation in the United States about a 'free ride' on security," says Togo. "This is especially true now when America's relative power has declined. Though beset with inflation and energy problems, the United States is still striving to improve its national defense. Its Western European allies are trying to coordinate their security efforts." No one is in any mood to exempt Japan from these burdens. Japanese have to find ways to do more on national security than they ever have in the past 35 years.

Japanese argue over what percentage of GNP should be spent on national defense, considering both actual requirements and U.S. pressure. But Togo asserts that "Japan doesn't have to worry about what the United States wants Japan to spend. Americans are not dictating the portion of GNP we must put into defense. You cannot specify definite amounts when you are talking about defense." Rather, there are more important considerations for Japan's national interest. One is to encourage Washington to maintain a military balance between the United States, the Soviet Union and China. The other is for Japan to strengthen its own defense capability to help achieve that balance.

Togo is optimistic about the growing awareness of the demands of national security among Japanese. But he is also wary: "How genuinely



we are concerned will be tested when a war breaks out some place." The real test will come when trouble starts somewhere near Japan, like the Korean peninsula, and it escalates until the provisions of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty are invoked and American B-52 bombers are launched from Japanese territory.

The former ambassador notes, "No one has come up with a solution to the Iranian and Afghan problems. Some say the United States has over-reacted. But if the United States had not responded as it did, the world map would have been changed again. Japan, like Western Europe, does not want to provoke the Russians. But can Japan afford to anger the Americans?"

The best answer to that, it seems, is to move away from cooperative dependence on the United States to constructive self-interest.

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#### Japanese Auto Production: The Tables Have Turned (From the Asahi Shimbun, March 31, 1980)

In January 1952, 100 members of Japan's Diet (parliament) formed a bipartisan study group on land transport at the request of taxi and auto-import companies. The group recommended to the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) that more foreign cars be imported into Japan. The Diet members said, "Having lost the war, Japan cannot be expected to compete with America in the production of passenger automobiles. Therefore, we should import a large volume of American-made cars." They pointed out that domestic car production suffered from its small-scale operations and many other disadvantages.

After World War II, the production of passenger cars was strictly forbidden by the U.S. Occupation. The restrictions were not lifted till 1949, just in time for truck makers to profit from the heavy demand created by the outbreak of the Korean War. The domestic passenger car market was flooded with big used cars dumped by Occupation personnel.



MITI officials did not accede to the Diet group's wishes in 1952. As part of its effort to move Japan into the front ranks of the industrialized nations, MITI spun a web of protectionism around the domestic auto industry. After three days and nights of frantic labor, MITI's automobile section issued a rejoinder to the Diet members in the form of a mimeographed pamphlet entitled "The Domestic Auto Industry."

The pamphlet stressed the following: (1) The automotive industry, particularly the passenger car sector, involves many other industries and a variety of materials; (2) Since an advanced level of technology is required for automobile production, an automotive industry will raise the technical standards of related industries and raw material processors, thereby upgrading Japan's industrial capacity; (3) To abandon the domestic passenger car industry and allow imported cars to monopolize the market would cost about \$15 million yearly in foreign exchange. The MITI bureaucrats concluded that if the Japanese economy was to be independent, such foreign exchange outlays were unjustifiable. It is easy to imagine the hearty support the pamphlet received from Japanese auto makers.

MITI immediately encouraged the industry to obtain the latest foreign technology. License agreements were made in 1952-53 between Nissan (makers of Datsuns) and Austin Motors of Great Britain, Isuzu and Rootes Motors, and Hino and Renault of France. Parts for compact cars were imported from Europe and assembled at Japanese factories. These early cars were of mixed parentage. The first standard model built completely in Japan, the Toyota Crown, went on sale in 1955. The domestic car industry took its first tottering steps toward independence.

Twenty-five years later Japan is now the No. 2 automobile producer in the world, fiercely competing with the United States. In 1978, the value of Japan's automobile and motorcycle production was \$79 billion. The motor vehicle industry represents 10.1 percent of total domestic manufacturing.

A healthy automotive industry is vital to full employment. Although only 670,000 workers are directly engaged in production, the workers in sales, service and affiliated industries swell the total to 1,730,000. Then there are all the gas station employees and the drivers of taxis and trucks. If the employees of raw material processors are included in proportion to the percentage of their production going to the auto industry (20 percent in the case of steel), the total figure is nearly 5 million. About 10 percent of all persons employed in Japan rely on the auto industry for their paychecks.

In 1978 the value of automobile exports, including parts and motorcycles, was \$21 billion. Automobile sales account for 20 percent of Japan's total exports, and autos surpassed steel as Japan's leading export industry in 1976.

The automotive industry has kept pace with the growth of Japan's economy. The 1955-65 rapid-growth period was marked by technological innovation and a revolution in consumption. Greater investment in plant and equipment by the auto manufacturers and the increased productivity it brought, stimulated similar investment and innovation in steel and other related industries. On the consumption side, personal income grew and the domestic market expanded.

From 1957, when Toyota began production of its compact Corona model, to 1977 annual per-capita income multiplied 13 times. Over the same period, the yen price for a standard Corona rose only 1.4 times. In 1966 the Datsun Sunny and Toyota Corolla were introduced for the mass market. Dubbed "the year of the family car," that was when Japan really entered its auto age.

Japan's rapid economic growth was aided by protectionism. While Japan recovered from wartime destruction, its domestic markets were closed to foreign competition. A first step toward trade liberalization was taken in 1960, but the auto industry and MITI worked hard to delay the lifting of the automobile import quotas. The truck, bus and motorcycle industries were internationally competitive, and these import barriers were lifted early, but the finished car market was restricted

by quotas until 1965. Liberalization of capital investment started in 1967, but was not extended to the automobile industry until 1971. These delays were planned and executed to protect domestic auto production from foreign competitors whose cars were still superior in quality and performance.

Today, the situation is totally reversed. Now the United States is hinting at import restrictions. "Japan protected its auto industry, so why can't we do the same?" the Americans complain.

Over the years, Japanese automobile firms have refined their technology through increased investment in plant and equipment. MITI directed a reorganization of the whole industry to improve its international competitiveness. Nissan and Prince merged in 1966, and consolidation agreements were concluded between Nissan and Fuji Juko Co. (maker of Subaru), and between Toyota, Daihatsu and Hino Motors. The government permitted each of the U.S. Big Three to invest in one of the lesser automobile companies in order to prevent the American giants from establishing wholly owned subsidiaries in Japan.

Since 1978 there have been no Japanese import tariffs on finished automobiles. The battle among Japan, Europe and America over the international automobile market has begun. The Japanese auto industry can no longer raise a protectionist shield against foreign attacks.

Two years ago the Industrial Economics Research Institute released a startling estimate: A 15 percent fall in auto exports would put more than 300,000 employees out of work. To lose out in the competition against Europe and America would hit the average Japanese right in the pocketbook. Domestic demand, no matter how artificially stimulated, could not replace foreign sales. If the automobile industry sneezes, the whole population will catch a cold.

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# Adventures with English

by Hiroshi TANIMURA

(former Vice-Minister of Finance;  
presently President of the Tokyo Stock Exchange)

(From the Bungei Shunjin, August, 1980)

To youngsters today, the American occupation of Japan is ancient history. But many of us who lived through it still remember the period as a bizarre experience. The exchanges in English at U.S. Headquarters in central Tokyo are especially unforgettable.

Quite a few officials in the Finance Ministry were fluent in English, or had experience working abroad. But for people like myself, a trip to GHQ was sheer torture. With my battered college dictionary in hand, I struggled mightily to wring out a single complete sentence.

No one knew what dire consequences might result from a linguistic faux pas. If arriving late for an appointment might mean an immediate stint in Sugamo Prison, as we often feared, what would be the penalty for supplying false information?

My first interview was in 1947. As an assistant section chief in the Finance Ministry, I had to explain the legal aspects of the government's price control policy to an officer at the Economic and Scientific Section. The first question, as soon as I sat down, was "Are you a lawyer?" Without blinking an eye I answered "Yes," and proceeded to lay out the materials I had brought.

Back at the ministry later, my colleagues told me I had made a grave mistake. They said, "You're in trouble now! Suppose they ask for proof that you're a lawyer?" I replied, "They know I'm a government official, so why should it matter whether if I'm a lawyer or not? The officer was only asking if I know anything about the law." Then I was informed that in the United States every government department has a qualified attorney as legal advisor, and that this was no doubt exactly what the officer had been asking.



As a matter of fact, at the time of the interview I was not exactly clear just what the word "lawyer" meant. But in the end nothing came of my misrepresentation. Every time I returned to GHQ I made it a point to sprinkle my conversation with legalisms such as *mutatis mutandis*. The officer may have thought that he was dealing with a genuine attorney.

Aritoshi Soejima, presently serving as Minister to Washington, also has a story about his explanation of the 1911 fur seal treaty. In Japanese the word for fur seal is ottosei, and is written in the phonetic alphabet instead of Chinese characters. Since words borrowed from English are written in the same alphabet, Mr. Soejima assumed that ottosei stemmed from some unknown English prototype.

After exhausting every possible pronunciation, he realized that his American counterpart had no idea what he was talking about. Soejima made a simple line drawing of a longish creature with large eyes and wing-like protuberances on either side. A smile of enlightenment crossed the American's face as he said, "Oh, a pigeon!" Soejima added whiskers to the figure. "Ah, a cat!" responded the U.S. officer. It was a long and meandering road that finally led to the fur seal. Some say that Mr. Soejima went so far as to crawl about on the carpet.

Another legend in the Finance Ministry concerns Michio Kondo who has also since served as envoy to the United States. Mr. Kondo was responsible for translating the Japanese word for prescribed agencies literally as "closed engines," and also for creating an American general named General Account.

I was once chosen for special training at the Foreign Ministry's language school. When our British instructor announced one day that he was about to give a simple dictation, we all sharpened our pencils and prepared to listen closely. The dictation turned out to be quite brief. Confident that no one could bobble this one, we all scribbled down the two words "cheese butter," only to listen in blank amazement as the instructor explained that what he had said was, "Which is better?"

One of my classmates at that school was Taketoshi Yamashita who later served as Minister to Washington. At a ceremony in the Imperial



Palace the Emperor reportedly asked "How is your English?" Since details of an Imperial audience are not divulged, we will never know what Yamashita replied. If you ask him now, he just smiles ruefully and shakes his head. The formal title of his post was Minister Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary. Mrs. Yamashita once slipped and referred to her husband as a "Minister Extraordinary Impotence."

Masami Muramatsu, one of Japan's top simultaneous interpreters, has written a best seller entitled I Couldn't Speak English Either. Although I would like to say the same, I'm afraid in my case the past tense would be inappropriate. I am resigned to adventures with English that would make even Mrs. Malaprop smile.

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Make American Skies Friendly to Japan  
by Yutaka KOIDE, General Manager,  
American Affairs, Japan Air Lines  
(From the Asahi Shimbun, September 19, 1980)

As far as the Japan-U.S. relationship in civil aviation is concerned, the United States still retains the "spoils of victory" acquired in the postwar period.

The Japan-U.S. Aviation Agreement was concluded in 1952, shortly after the Peace Treaty which restored Japan's sovereignty. At the time Japan was in no position to bargain, and ever since that time air routes from here to the United States have been limited for Japan Air Lines (JAL), while the American carriers have enjoyed unlimited access to Japan.

Japan has tried several times to obtain a more balanced accord but the negotiations always ended up with minor revisions. The pact's unequal framework has never been rectified.

Under the current agreement, U.S. carriers can fly to Japan from any point in America and have unlimited rights to fly through Japan to

other destinations. But JAL can only fly to specified U.S. cities and fly-on rights to other destinations from the United States are so restricted as to be of negligible value.

U.S. carriers currently enjoy exclusive rights to fly to Japan from five major cities -- Seattle, Chicago, Minneapolis, Washington and Houston. These cities are closed to JAL.

Last year U.S. airlines flying on these routes transported 310,000 passengers, about 20 percent of the total passengers carried between the U.S. mainland and Japan. They also carried 45,000 tons of cargo, about one-fourth of the total cargo carried between the two countries. Revenue from these routes amounted to an estimated ¥50 billion.

U.S. carriers fly through Japan to 13 cities in Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and Europe. In 1979 they carried 850,000 passengers and nearly 100,000 tons of cargo. Earnings from these routes are estimated at more than ¥50 billion.

This annual revenue of more than ¥100 billion stemmed from the unfair agreement which places Japan at a disadvantage. Although Japan hopes that a bilateral aviation relationship can develop in a healthy and orderly fashion, this goal is not attainable under the outdated agreement.

In October 1976, on the basis of a promise by U.S. aviation officials to review inequities in air rights and grant Japan reasonable additional routes, Japan began negotiations to revise the overall air agreement. But for almost four years the United States has turned a deaf ear to Japan's claims and reneged on its promise. As a result, the unequal and unfair situation continues.

Since 1976, Chicago and Seattle have been opened to several foreign carriers but not to JAL, while Northwest Orient Airlines and the Flying Tiger Line continue to monopolize the route from those two cities to Japan. In no other aspect of Japan-U.S. relations has there been such an exclusionist policy by the United States.

In 1979 the United States passed the International Air Transportation Competition Act to strengthen the position of U.S. airlines and it is now trying to force other countries, including Japan, to comply. At a special conference of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) the new U.S. policy was opposed by the great majority of the 146 member nations who insist on an orderly market.

Washington should not impose its aviation policy, which is designed solely to advance U.S. interests. Japan wants the United States to adopt statesmanlike policies befitting its status as the leader in international aviation. The United States should open its skies to Japan and make them friendly by correcting the inequitable 1952 agreement.

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### "Japanese Only" Bars Exclude U.S. Sailors

by Ichiro YAMAMOTO

(From the Asahi Shimbun, Evening Edition, October 18, 1980)

Yokosuka, near the entrance of Tokyo Bay, is headquarters for the U.S. Seventh Fleet. With most of the fleet on patrol in the Middle East, the business area around the huge U.S. Yokosuka naval base is quiet. But just below the surface, there is tension between sailors and townspeople. At issue are "Japanese Only" signs on bars which used to cater to American sailors.

Proprietors complain of thievery, violence and general misbehavior by the Americans. The sailors protest against what they regard as blatant discrimination. With Japan-U.S. relations already strained over auto exports, the Justice Ministry has stepped in as mediator.

The trouble spot is Dobuita-dori, the main street in front of the base. There are about 100 small bars with names like "Montana" and "Texas" on that street and nearby. They were all formerly hangouts for

low-ranking U.S. seamen. But recently about ten of the pubs have put up "Japanese Only" signs.

Bar-owner Shoichi Kushida complains that a month ago a black sailor entered his establishment and robbed him of an expensive wristwatch. Kushida says, "When my Japanese customers see Americans drinking beer straight from the bottle, they leave. There was one sailor who all of a sudden pulled down his pants, pointed his rear end at the other customers, farted, and ran out the door. I couldn't believe it."

In many bars shutters have been kicked in, roofs stomped upon and busted, pillars broken, and washrooms destroyed. Some Yokosuka residents report that their door handles have even been smeared with excrement.

Unless shopowners catch the GIs in the act of vandalism, they have little chance of being compensated. Some say that "if our government can afford jet fighters and fancy military hardware, it should reimburse us for the damage caused by American servicemen stationed here under the security treaty."

The incidents by U.S. sailors began to grow more serious a few years ago when the dollar dropped in value relative to the yen. That was when the "Japanese Only" signs began to appear, letting the Americans know that only customers with money to spend were welcome. Some Yokosuka merchants think the vandalism is a symptom of an inferiority complex brought on by the sagging dollar, while others say the quality of American seamen has declined with the advent of the volunteer navy.

Masao Yajima, 54, who operates a bar on Dobuita-dori, says "Some sailors always want me to get them a woman. If I warn them not to cause trouble, they threaten to drop an atomic bomb on Yokosuka. They seem to think that they are in Japan because they won World War II, not because of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty. I don't think they even know there is a treaty. I support the treaty myself, but I have my doubts about whether the United States would protect Japan in a crisis."



A reporter asked two young American sailors what they knew about the pact. One recent arrival said he had never heard of it. The other, who has been in Japan for over two years, said he knew about it but that most new personnel did not.

But they do know about the signs. A young white sailor said they reminded him of his childhood and Jim Crow laws against blacks. He added that there are troublemakers in both countries and it was unfair to punish the majority who do nothing wrong. Another sailor said that he was surprised at the signs, because he had been told before coming to Yokosuka that Japanese like Americans.

About 20,000 American servicemen and their dependents, including transient personnel, live in Yokosuka. Many are from underprivileged backgrounds and have never lived abroad before. The Justice Ministry is worried that when these sailors return home they will report that Japan is unfriendly to Americans. The government wants to avoid this kind of grass-roots misunderstanding.

American sailors all say that they are shocked by the high cost of living in Japan. A young sailor's salary is only about \$500 per month. The sailors dress casually in jeans and sport shirts, whereas the Japanese wear ties and business suits. The U.S. servicemen drive battered second-hand cars, while the Japanese all have new Datsuns and Toyotas. It doesn't take long for the sailors to start thinking that all Japanese are rich.

Most of the seamen are not aware that Article 9 of Japan's constitution limits this country's armed forces to a strictly defensive role. They have a hard time understanding why "rich" Japan resists U.S. pressure for increased defense spending.

U.S. military authorities are trying to combat the problems of high prices and too much free time with an educational campaign, including a guidebook to the Yokosuka area. Some excerpts:

"Unless you are very careful, nightlife in Japan can be VERY VERY EXPENSIVE. This is particularly true in places which



employ any kind of hostesses or female bartenders....

"Most Japanese people have much higher salaries than does the average American sailor, so you have to be very careful....

"Japan is a modern, wealthy country and women do not need to become prostitutes in order to make a living as is the case in some countries....

"Don't waste your valuable time trying to find a prostitute in Japan, instead, try to learn something about the country and try to meet the people as equals and respect their customs and ways...."

A home-visit project was started last September. About 30 families in the Yokosuka area invite U.S. sailors to their homes and show them how the Japanese really live. A Japanese participant says, "We want the sailors to see for themselves what it's like to live in our 'rabbit-hutch' houses. We would also like them at least to know that Japan's 'peace' constitution renounces war."

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#### What I Admire in the American Businessmen

by Kazumasa GOTO, Executive Director, Mobil Oil, Japan

(From the Nihon Keizai Shimbun, evening edition, October 23, 1980)

In my dealings with American businessmen I have been impressed with several skills and qualities. Foremost is their ability to express themselves and explain a subject.

The U.S. executive's approach to "a presentation," as they call it, is highly professional. They are systematically trained, study on their own, and work at it to get as much experience as possible. As a result, they are usually far better than their Japanese counterparts.

At company meetings American businessmen compete to speak and ask questions. They respect people who voice opinions, who try to create a

positive mood and who seek to involve everyone in the discussion.

Endymion Wilkinson is probably right in his book Europe Vs. Japan, when he lays part of the blame for the economic disputes between Tokyo and the European Community on our weakness in explaining a position or policy.

No matter how brilliant a person's views may be, they are worthless unless presented clearly and understandably. The saying "Silence is golden" may have come from the West, but it certainly has no currency in the world of American business!

Another thing I admire about U.S. businessmen is their enthusiasm for voluntary activities. Take the American Chamber of Commerce in Japan, for example, with its 1,000 members and almost 20 committees. The Chamber has an active program of seminars, lectures and other events and is constantly drawing up survey reports and making proposals and recommendations. Virtually all these activities are supported by members who provide their services for free.

As an occasional participant, I discovered that most of the committees meet from 7.30 a.m., over lunch or after 5.00 p.m. so as not to clash with the members' business hours. To someone who remembers the days when the Japanese Chamber of Commerce in London was more of a social club than a business organization, the U.S. Chamber is dynamic indeed. American executives' willingness to meet at such strange times and in such large numbers for serious discussions of matters which have no direct bearing on their own business is a constant source of amazement. I do not know what motivates them, but the record is impressive.

A third admirable quality of the American businessmen is toughness. I can hang in there fairly well myself, but there are times when I just cannot compete. When I see a man my age taking a Sunday round of golf in stride after telling me that on Saturday he went jogging in the morning, played tennis and swam in the afternoon, went to a party in the evening and danced in a Roppongi disco until 2.00 a.m., I have to take my hat off to him.

I wonder where Americans get their stamina? Is it because they eat so much meat? One of these days I want to ask my doctor if more steak is the answer.

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## 3

**Industry and Business****How to Pay the Company President**

(From the Asahi Shimbun, February 26, 1980)

How much do Japanese company presidents get paid? This sensitive question has long been shrouded in secrecy. No company wants to announce its executive salaries. But a recently completed survey indicates that presidents of major corporations earn an average of \$6,000 per month, while their counterparts at small companies make about \$2,400 per month (computed at the rate of ¥250 to the dollar).

The survey, conducted by the Wage and Salary Management Consulting Service of Tokyo, was limited to companies that had sent representatives to a symposium, "Rational Determination of Salaries and Bonuses of Presidents and Executives," sponsored by the consulting firm. The response rate was surprisingly high; 1,206 companies replied of 1,250 companies contacted. The period of the survey was August to December, 1979.

The survey revealed a strong correlation between company size and the salary level of its president. The \$6,000 per month was reported by companies capitalized at more than \$2 million. Those capitalized at between \$400,000 and \$2 million paid their chief executives an average of \$4,790 per month. Salaries fall to \$3,920 at companies capitalized in the \$120,000-\$400,000 range -- they dip to \$3,200 at smaller companies in the \$40,000-\$120,000 band. Finally, the smallest

companies, capitalized at less than \$40,000, pay their presidents an average of \$2,400 per month.

The average monthly salary for all executives, including presidents, was about \$4,000, an increase of about \$400 over the past two years. Executive salaries showed surprisingly small variation from one industry to another; company size was a far more important factor. For managing directors and ordinary directors, however, not even the size of the company made much difference in salaries.

About half of the medium and small companies indicated that they set executive salaries to reflect company profits. Only one quarter of the big companies employed this criterion; more than half of them said their executive salaries were determined in accordance with changes in the wage levels of ordinary employees. Some 20 percent of all firms cited the "prevailing standard" as the point of reference for setting executive salaries; this criterion was more common among large companies.

Under the Commercial Code, executive salaries are to be reviewed upon renewal of an executive term of appointment or by approval at a general meeting of stockholders. In actual practice, however, executive salaries are usually reviewed, and revised upward, along with the pay increases granted to workers following the annual spring wage negotiations. The survey summary concludes that "executives are being treated increasingly like ordinary employees. This tendency is more noticeable as the size of the company decreases."

Executive bonuses, if expressed as multiples of the monthly salary, are not much different from employee bonuses. At 30 percent of the surveyed companies, such bonuses were described as "slightly more" than employee bonuses; 20 percent said "a little less," while 25 percent replied that the bonus rates were "almost even." The exact size of an executive's bonus is difficult to determine, since it often takes a variety of forms to minimize taxes. Average figures given for presidential bonuses were \$12,400 at the largest companies, \$14,000 at



the medium-size corporations and \$9,200 at the smaller companies.

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### Energy Crisis Leads to Engineer Shortage

By Kentaro Kiguchi, senior staff writer

(From the Nikkan Kogyo Shimbun, March 31, 1980)

It's a seller's market for engineers in Japan. Major industries have decided to invest in new technology as one answer to spiraling energy costs. But corporations are finding it difficult to recruit the electrical and mechanical engineers they need to design energy-saving equipment. Personnel officers are trying to lure recent college graduates away from traditional employers and into new fields.

In the basic industries that depend heavily on expensive oil and electricity, the most dynamic technology is resource and energy conservation. Whole industries are affected. Everything from plant design to machine tools must meet new energy-efficient criteria. These industries are desperate for young electronics and mechanical engineers. But corporate recruiters report that such engineers are in short supply and many are reluctant to join companies that in the past have had little need for people with their training.

A recruiter from a major manufacturer of synthetic rubber and vinyl explains his plight. "If college seniors, those who have studied electronics or mechanical engineering, come to us for a job interview, I put aside everything else and give them my full attention. I even give them confidential business information about our company, data I hope they will not disclose. I discuss anything and answer every question they ask. I talk to them as long as they want. The presence of senior executives tends to turn the interview into a formal, frivolous exchange. So, as a rule we have our middle-level men there, the men who make the day-by-day decisions. The participants can speak frankly; we encourage a no-holds-barred discussion.

"Even this kind of recruiting policy hasn't landed us the men we need. Really, we have lost many good prospects. But we hope the students who accept jobs in other companies will remember the sincere way our recruiter dealt with them. A favorable impression of our company is bound to benefit us some way in the future."

From this recruiting officer's remarks it might appear that his company is hiring 50 or 60 graduates. Not at all. They are looking for one or two men who majored in mechanical or electrical engineering. His experience shows the severe difficulty chemical companies face in recruiting engineers in fields in which they have not been previously involved.

Steel companies are also finding it a seller's market for engineers. The recruiting officer of a major steel company says: "Students seem to think that steel mills are unchanged from the old days of blast furnaces and sweating crews pouring molten steel by hand. They must think steel plants only hire metallurgical engineers. They couldn't be more wrong. I can assure electrical or mechanical engineers more challenging assignments than they would find in an electronics or machinery company.

"At present only a small part of the equipment in a steel plant is electronically controlled. Five years from now, however, it will all be. Our engineers will be called upon to design complete new systems. They will design everything for the new plants. The engineers at steel mills will be telling electronics and machinery manufacturers what kind of equipment to produce.

"The electrical and other non-metallurgical engineers right out of school who have joined us seem to be glad they did. But most college seniors are not aware of the tremendous opportunities here and have little interest in us."

The chief recruiter of a mining company tells an interesting story: "Brown coal is an abundant resource that is promising for coal liquefaction. In its natural form, it is 50 percent water, which makes it commercially impracticable to transport. Processing must be done at

the mining site. Construction of a liquefaction plant is an enormous project; investment costs can run to nearly \$400 million. The facility must have a plant-life of 20 to 30 years. Many brown coal fields have enough deposits for that many years of operation. Whether these vast resources can be commercially tapped or not depends solely on the ability of mechanical engineers. The decisive factor is the technology for coal dehydration and pulverization. These engineers have tremendous opportunities with us." But the company's job offers seem to go begging.

These recruiter's tales of woe abound. The common theme is a technological innovation that cuts across industry lines, such as steel, chemicals, mining, metal and cement. A senior engineer commented: "It's a real surprise to me. Almost all new research in one way or another involves conservation of energy or resources. Measurement and control techniques are becoming much more important. In the selection of equipment like compressors and valves, for instance, greater precision is required.

"At least for the time being, we need many more electrical and mechanical engineers. In our long-range planning, we see the need to hire excellent engineers in these fields. How many? I would say the more the better. Actually, we'll be lucky if we can get one or two. If we can't hire at least a few, our development plans may be ruined."

He also says: "Judging from recent R & D trends, engineers of the future should have diversified training and a broad perspective. The day of the one-track mind stuck in a narrow specialization is over. We call the former a torii-type after the shape of the gate of a Shinto shrine. The latter we have dubbed the inverted T-type. The wooden torii has two widely-spaced pillars joined by two cross beams one on top of the other. The distance between the pillars represents wide knowledge while the thick pillars and the double crossbars stand for depth and solid technical competence. Torii-type engineers are now in demand."

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Don't Throw Away That Beer Bottle!  
(From the Nikkan Kogyo Shimbun, April 10, 1980)

Cats have nine lives but beer bottles in Japan have 15 or more. Ninety-seven percent of the beer bottles in use are recovered, and each is recycled at least 15 times. Bottle recycling saves resources -- raw materials and energy -- and is an effective cost-cutting tool. If bottles were not reused, the price of a large 3-pint bottle of beer would go up by about eight cents.

The Japanese beer industry has always used a bottle recovery system. Although originally adopted to cope with bottle shortages, brewers have invested an enormous amount of time and money to maintain and improve the recovery-recycle system. These efforts continued even during the years of rapid economic growth when new throw-away products were the marketing rage.

The beer bottle recovery arrangement is called a "container rental deposit system." The bottles are the property of the breweries and are "rented" to the consumer upon payment of a deposit. The deposit is two cents for the big-sized bottle, 1.8 cents for the medium size and 1.6 cents for the small size. The 93-cent price for a large bottle of beer includes the deposit charge. The consumer receives a two cent refund for each empty bottle returned to a dealer.

The return of empties reverses the distribution flow: retailer to wholesaler to the brewery. The maker pays the wholesaler three cents per bottle; the wholesaler keeps two cents and passes one cent on to the retailer.

Each bottle is recycled this way four to five times a year. Since a bottle lasts from four to five years, it is recycled 15 to 20 times during its lifetime. About three percent of all bottles shipped by breweries drop out of the recycling process due to breakage, cracking, other minor damage and dirtiness.

Other recovery costs borne by the brewery include the shipment of bottles, via truck or railway, from designated wholesalers to the



brewery. Haulage averages one cent per large bottle; the total recovery cost for one large bottle is five cents.

Kirin Brewery, Japan's largest brewery, spends \$13.2 million annually to recover its big bottles. For the entire beer industry, the expenditure for large bottle recovery exceeds \$20 million. When medium and small bottles are included, the industry's recovery costs are formidable.

Breweries determine the number of new bottles needed by estimating their recovery losses and prospective sales increases. A new large-size bottle costs about fourteen cents. With the consumer's two-cent deposit, the net cost to the brewery is twelve cents. The five-cent recovery cost is seven cents less than the cost of a new bottle.

Beer companies have defended their planned price hikes by citing the consumer price index. Food prices have risen 1,500 times the 1936 level, and the general price index has gone up by 1,200 percent. Retail beer prices have increased only 574 times. Analysts have shown that of the beer price components, the beer tax has increased 932-fold, while the brewer's net earnings before taxes have increased only 280 times or one-fifth of the average food price increase. The relatively small increase in beer prices is due to economy of scale, helped by a great increase in beer consumption, and the industry's diligent efforts to control costs and improve efficiency.

The bottle-recovery system dates from the birth of the beer industry in the late 19th century when brewers had to depend on imported bottles because of the low technical standards of the domestic bottle industry. The high price of imported bottles made recovery an important cost factor right from the beginning.

During the Allied occupation of Japan, nearly everything was rationed, and the occupation authorities banned the production of beer and sake bottles. The recovery of old bottles suddenly became a matter of economic survival to breweries. Deliveries to retailers were based on the number of bottles they returned. No empties to return meant no full bottles to sell.



Breweries also market soft drinks and they have developed recycling methods for these bottles patterned after their beer bottle recovery systems. But whisky and sake bottles are for one-time use. Major whisky and sake makers do not bother to recover their bottles; instead, these are gathered up by junk dealers for reuse by small local breweries. This arrangement is far less efficient than the excellent recycling record for beer bottles.

The high recovery rate for beer bottles reduces environmental pollution. However, the increasing consumption of canned beer is a headache to the industry because the breweries lack the technological capability to recycle the pull-top cans. Several industry organizations have been established to devise methods of recovering beer and soda cans, but the recovery rate is still a low 20 percent. Until the beer industry can do for cans what it has done for bottles, picnic areas and resorts will continue to look like junkyards.

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#### Non-Patentable Technology

Kenji Ekuan, President

GK Industrial Design Research Institute

(From the Keizai Orai, July 1980)

Technological innovation creates new forms of civilization. Even the negative side-effects, pollution and the energy crisis, must be resolved by still newer technology. Technological change and diffusion is so rapid that we easily forget that not so long ago our lives were very different. Industrial society is a complex mechanism geared for innovation, a kind of giant patent office.

Not all technology can be patented. Every nation has its own fund of know-how, its particular ways of preparing and serving food, of shaping living space, of adjusting production to human needs. In Japan, houses have long been constructed according to a standard unit of

measurement, the three foot by six foot tatami mat. With food, as much attention has been lavished on appearance as on taste. For example, food is served in individual small dishes. These myriad details have all contributed to a unique life style, an aesthetic wisdom.

Hidden away in that vague and elusive entity called tradition are enormous technical and intellectual resources. Flower arrangements, calligraphy, the tea ceremony, swordsmanship, and judo are all keys to those resources. By practicing these arts one develops a sense of how things ought to be, of proper processes and conclusions. One learns to judge proportion with a trained intuition, to reach beyond the arrangement of particulars to a holistic order.

Japan now leads the world in cameras, watches, electronics -- the entire field of applied technology. The field is overgrown by a thicket of patents, but patented technology alone does not produce superior products. Only when sensibility comes to the aid of technology do we get handsome home appliances and stylish automobiles.

More than 10 million working women in Japan take the time to study flower arrangement and the tea ceremony. They have various motives: personal cultivation, preparation for marriage, or simply the wish for a hobby. Whether dilettantish or aesthetic, these avocations have raised the quality of Japanese products. Many of the women are engaged directly in production, and the others are consumers. They bring to material culture an eye trained in refined simplicity and harmony of form.

Japanese have repeatedly bought technology from abroad, filtered it through our culture, and exported the results as high-quality products. Tea ceremony and flower arranging are popular arts peculiar to this small archipelago. But the success of Japanese products proves that there is a universal validity to that popular culture. The aesthetic sense it fosters guarantees quality and functionalism.

Compared with foreign countries, the ratio of defective goods in Japan reportedly is very low. This is due to the internalized quality-control system in the workers themselves, and to the high

standards of consumerse Schools, the home and hobby groups have all helped make Japan a society of connoisseurs. It would be surprising if Japanese perfectionism and love of beauty were not manifested on the job.

Unlike patents, culture must be gained by experience, with the fingertips. But these non-patentable resources are the real wellsprings of creativity that make the world livable for man.

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"Technopolis," the Future Japanese City  
(From the Yomiuri Shimbun, July 22, 1980)

"Technopolis" -- Japan's dream city or satellite town of the future that will utilize the latest technology for industry, business, and comfortable living -- is moving from the drawing board stage to selection of a construction site.

The brainchild of planners at the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI), Technopolis will have a population of 40,000 and 3,700 acres of space, and is scheduled for completion by 1990. Its economy will be based on high-growth sectors like semiconductors, computers, lasers, sophisticated industrial robots and space aeronautics, plus conventional manufacturing and commerce.

In the "living zone," homes are to be heated by solar energy, community antenna television will beam news and entertainment into living rooms, and all trash will be recycled. Residents will get around in electric cars, and hospitals will have the latest in medical data processing equipment.

While future-oriented, Technopolis planners want to retain local traditions and the natural environment as a spiritual anchor for its citizenry. The city will be replete with public squares for festivals and community activities, educational facilities for senior citizens,

churches, shrines, and temples, as well as sports, health and amusement centers.

According to the MITI plan, Technopolis will be situated close to a major local city of 200,000 with cultural and business facilities and served by airlines, railways and good highways. MITI officials are looking for a site with these qualifications. Cities in Kyushu and the Tohoku region have already offered themselves as sites for Technopolis.

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#### Miniaturized Vacations

(From the Nikkei Sangyo Shimbun, July 25, 1980)

Everyone knows that the Japanese are hard workers, but would they like more time off? The Nihon Keizai Shimbun, a Tokyo economic daily, recently surveyed 100 middle-level executives in major companies and found that most were satisfied with vacations of less than a week. Although they envy the long vacations of their counterparts in Europe and America, 79 percent said they began to feel uneasy about the company if they took more than three days off.

The executives surveyed are mainly between the ages of 36 and 45 and employed by well-known companies such as Sony and Toyota. The majority reported their summer vacations were three to five days; 27 percent took a week off, but only 8 percent took as long as ten days. A zealous 1 percent checked the answer: "As a corporate executive, it is my duty to set the example by taking no vacation at all."

Mini-vacations are not dictated by the labor laws or terms of employment. Middle-management employees at most Japanese companies are entitled to about 26 days of paid vacation every year. Not one of the managers surveyed said that he took all the vacation time to which he was entitled.

The most common explanation for not using vacation time was "too busy," offered by 66 percent. Other reasons included a desire to



accumulate leave time in case of illness or emergency, the belief that two days of rest per week was sufficient vacation, and a corporate ambience that made it impossible to take more time off.

On the one hand, the managers seem to feel burdened by their responsibilities, but on the other hand, they think that a section chief who uses all his vacation time will lose the respect of his subordinates.

When asked what they do during vacation, 63 percent preferred to relax with their families. In second place came general rest and recuperation, followed by hobbies. Apparently most executives feel they should use their vacation to spend more time with their wives and children.

As for vacation destinations, 27 percent went to resorts and the same number returned to their hometowns. Some used company recreation facilities in resort areas, others took "energy saving" vacations at home, and 1 percent travelled abroad. Half of the executives reported their vacation cost less than \$500.

The pattern would change radically if month-long vacations became the rule. Forty percent of the managers said that if they had the time they would like to travel abroad, and another 22 percent wanted a long rest in the mountains or in their hometowns. Longer vacations would also give the busy section chiefs more time to themselves. Fifteen percent said that they wanted to do more reading, while 18 percent were eager for "self-improvement." That usually meant English conversation lessons or attaining additional job qualifications, but some also expressed interest in Yoga and Zen training.

Company policies and the attitudes of the managers themselves must change before longer vacations would be feasible. More than half the executives said they clear their desks of all work before leaving even for three or four days; only 26 percent turn unfinished work over to subordinates. According to the survey, executives were loathe to leave for more than a few days because their sections might fall behind the work schedule, or sudden crises may require their personal attention.



Two out of three executives always leave their vacation address and a telephone number because they feel they are indispensable, while 3 percent said they call in regularly during vacation.

Opinions are divided about whether American-style summer vacations are desirable for Japan. Sixty-five percent of the managers declared themselves either satisfied or fairly satisfied with the present system; 32 percent were dissatisfied and wanted longer vacations.

Managers who want longer vacations feel that the government and corporations must create an atmosphere which encourages employees to take more time off. Many executives favored substantial company-wide vacations with the entire plant closed for a week or two.

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What Makes Japanese Products Better  
Hajime KARATSU, Managing Director,  
Matsushita Communications Industrial Company, Ltd.  
(From the Nihon Keizai Shimbun, July 28, 1980)

"It's not as good as the Japanese make, but it'dl give you decent service," said the salesgirl to an American friend when he was shopping for a cigarette lighter in Paris. As the Parisian clerk's comment attests, 'Made in Japan' now stands for excellence around the globe.

An endless stream of foreign executives visit Japan to observe quality control (QC) practices at our factories. Their impressions are pretty much the same: the Japanese are a homogeneous people; there is a high level of education; and the lifelong employment system provides security for employees. Observers are especially interested in QC circle activities, which workers participate in after hours for no extra pay.

To American and Europeans, Japanese labor-management relations seem like another world. They explain the Japanese pattern as, "due to cultural differences." Several best-selling books by foreigners about

Japan also offer "cultural differences" as the crucial factor. Foreign pundits and visiting businessmen interviewed on television invariably attribute Japan's economic successes to its peculiar social customs and culture. I disagree. While culture is important, these observers have missed the main point.

There are public corporations here, the Japan National Railways (JNR) is the outstanding example, with large staffs of supposedly superior Japanese employees. But they are rife with inefficiency, poor worker morale, and up to their necks in debt. If success is inherent in the culture, as the "culture school" contends, how do we explain such failures?

The answer is managerial skill -- or the lack of it in the case of the JNR. That is what separates the men from the boys in the corporate world. No matter how modern a company's equipment or how many graduates of prestigious universities it recruits, without good leadership it is doomed. More important than competence is whether the staff is motivated to go all-out for the company.

A visit to an American automobile manufacturing plant was a real shocker. By Japanese standards, the factory was unmanaged. The engineer who briefed me was first-rate but what was happening there bore little resemblance to his presentation. The essence of management is to accomplish objectives according to plan. That was not being done.

When the engineers planned the manufacturing process, did they figure on workers throwing cigarette butts into the cars just before the painting stage when they are most vulnerable to dust? Or did the engineers foresee piles of leftover parts along the assembly line -- parts not installed on the cars?

The attitude of assembly line workers was to do their assigned job and nothing else. None felt a sense of purpose or a responsibility to provide good cars to the customers. If auto workers here became so indifferent, the good reputation of Japanese cars would be sullied beyond repair.

But the United States is a big country and one factory does not a generalization make. I have also seen factories there with a completely different atmosphere. One example was a company which manufactured electronic components for missiles. The employees were all alert, energetic young women who did excellent precision work. I had thought female workers at American factories were all dowdy and middle-aged, seemingly preoccupied with what to fix for dinner. This plant was quite different: the employees took pride in their work and used the latest techniques.

An aircraft jet engine plant was also impressive. The workers wore freshly laundered white uniforms, the factory was neat as a pin and work was top-notch. The whole operation was a paragon of craftsmanship.

As these examples suggest, the motivation of American workers differs considerably from factory to factory. In those industries where the United States is the world leader, strict attention is paid to quality. A semiconductor plant of a U.S. computer manufacturer has installed equipment made in Japan. According to the Japanese who set it up and provide after-sales service, the plant is almost completely automated and its defect rate is as low as or lower than Japan's leading semiconductor makers.

Japan's QC circle was introduced into the United States in 1972 when the Lockheed Corporation sent a six-man management survey team here. Recently numerous other American companies as well as businesses in South Korea, Taiwan, Europe, and Brazil have shown interest in QC techniques and sent teams to Japan. Workers in many countries are engaged in QC activities to raise efficiency.

The winds of change are blowing through the industrial world. As a quality-control specialist observing foreign economies for several years, I see a shift in the Western concepts of labor-management relations which have been dominant since the Industrial Revolution. A recent observation group from the European Community (EC) included not only executives and engineers but also three labor union

representatives. The union leaders shared a common goal with management -- improving productivity -- and asked many probing questions.

The QC circle is a return to the age of manual production which preceded modern industry. In the handicraft stage the consumer was king. The craftsman was committed to his product; to foist off defective goods on a customer was a breach of trust. There was none of the alienation depicted in Charlie Chaplin's "Modern Times" where the worker became a robot-like machine, separated from the product of his labor.

The QC circle restores individual involvement to the production process. Each worker feels he knows more about a particular operation than anyone else in the company. If he spots something wrong or sees a better way of doing thing, he is motivated by pride and his claim to craftsmanship to take corrective action or suggest innovations.

Taylor and Gilbreth pioneered in introducing scientific management to mass-production factories through job-studies and time-motion analysis. But these methods destroyed the personal, face-to-face relationship between the consumer of a product and the man who made it; the worker's satisfaction at creating something and his interaction with a satisfied customer virtually ended. QC circles revive this channel of communication between buyer and maker. Each worker learns the daily production results and is kept informed of sales. He knows how many customers have bought the product he made, what consumers think of his handiwork and how it compares with competitors' products.

Although most often lost sight of, production starts with communication between a consumer and a manufacturer. This inherent aspect of the process was forgotten during the rapid modernization of industry. Japanese enterprises rediscovered it. The reputation for well-made products and great care with the finest details owes something to national character. But major credit goes to the restoration of the original relationship between a worker, his product and the consumer.

I am sure the American auto worker who carelessly tossed a cigarette butt into a car would not have done it if he had visualized



the customer who would buy the car.

Statistical quality control methods originated in the United States. In Japan they were incorporated into production improvement programs. The special Japanese twist is a holistic extension: TQC, total quality control. TQC must involve everyone from the company president to the factory workers.

Some attributed the success of QC to Japan's tradition of community labor in paddy-field rice cultivation. These observers doubted its applicability to different cultural milieus. But QC circles proved exportable, often in the name of benefits to the consumer. At the computer plant I visited, the company motto was, "Satisfied customers are our best salespeople."

Newsweek recently reported that in 1979 France exported more than Japan. At some point France had transformed itself from the land of wine and perfume into a solid industrial power. The article reminded me that for several years French QC specialists have been visiting factories here. The French seem to have taken Japan as a model in their vigorous attempt to become a leader in technology and trade. And they are succeeding.

Japan will face stiff competition from the advanced industrial nations trying to catch up with Number One. Unlike the developing countries, the industrialized states have technology, capital and markets; if they set their minds to it, anyone could become a major rival. If the Japanese naively think that cultural differences will keep them in the lead, they are in for a rude awakening. I must cite again the public corporations where, despite excellent personnel, poor executive leadership results in gross inefficiency.

Japan has developed many outstanding methods and techniques, and we have a large pool of skilled managers. Management is not an abstract philosophy. It is the practical art of skillfully mobilizing people, materials and money to achieve a goal. If superior management techniques could be instilled in our fossilized organizations, Japan would become a more affluent and equitable society.



A review of price fluctuations for various products between 1970 and 1979 is instructive. Japanese companies which have successfully modernized have hardly raised their prices at all. Prices for television sets, cameras, and watches have actually declined over the period, while automobile prices have only risen about 30 percent. That is why they sell so well in Japan and abroad.

During these 10 years wages have quadrupled and oil prices have risen 10-fold, so our product price stability seems like a bit of magic. But the only trick is good management.

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#### Japan Gears up for Fifth-Generation Computers (From the Nikkan Kogyo Shimbun, September 30, 1980)

In 1981 the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) will initiate a 10-year research and development project to build "the fifth generation of computers." The ministry is studying plans for a new R & D organization, completely different from other national institutes, to provide career flexibility and research facilities for the nation's best scientists. Their first task would be to build the new computers.

An emerging consensus among scientists and government officials here holds that the present research structure impedes innovation. In the past Japan has striven to overtake and surpass Western technology. But to compete with the West and develop new technology of its own, the nation must pool its research talent and enable scientists from different fields to work on joint research projects.

The Council on Science and Technology, an advisory group for the prime minister, has advocated establishment of a new research center in order to stimulate technological development. The center would draw scientists from academia, government institutes, private corporations and, if necessary, from overseas centers.

In developing computers, Japan has concentrated mainly on equaling and surpassing IBM's technology. But to pioneer a fifth generation of computers will require vast innovative efforts, cooperation and coordination. MITI predicts difficulties if the project is attempted under the present fragmented and compartmentalized research arrangements.

Computers are classified into generations according to their element: the first uses the vacuum tube; the second the transistor; the third generation the integrated circuit (IC). An intermediate generation uses the large-scale integrated circuit (LSI), and the fourth utilizes very large-scale integrated circuits (VLSI).

The early generations concentrated on computing power and memory capacity. The fifth generation, using the Josephson effect element, will be "thinking computers," easier to use and closely simulating the human brain.

To create a new scientific center will require changes in the system of lifelong employment which stifles researchers in one organization for their whole career. MITI's models are West Germany's Max Planck Institute and America's National Science Foundation, both of which draw researchers from various centers for joint projects. The ministry will also discuss provisions to protect appointees from loss of promotions or benefits while away from their home institutions.

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### Harmony or Union Busting?

#### Labor-Management Relations in Japan

By Naomi MARUO, Professor of Chuo University

(From the Sankei Shimbun, October 22, 1980)

When the Japanese economy came through the two oil crises with flying colors, American and European observers began to suspect that the key elements were a particular kind of labor-management relations.

Stimulated by foreign critiques, both favorable and unfavorable, the academic world has been examining Japanese-style labor relations to see what makes them tick. Several schools of interpretation have emerged.

The traditionally dominant theory holds that unique aspects here are the result of backwardness compared to America and Europe. According to convergence theorists, as the Japanese economy evolves, labor relations will become almost identical with the pattern in other post-industrial societies.

A second approach, advanced by Professor Hiroshi Hazama, Waseda University, and others, contends that Japanese labor relations can be explained by the tradition of operating businesses as an extended family, a practice that dates from the merchant houses of the Edo period (1603-1868). Not so, say Professors Masumi Tsuda, Hitotsubashi University, Ryushi Iwata, Musashi University, and others who emphasize psychological factors.

A fourth school is based on a theory of incentive and contribution (IC) balance similar to the Barnard-Simon theory of organizational equilibrium. As elaborated by Professor Kuniyoshi Urabe, Kobe University, this theory holds that an IC balance which includes non-monetary long-range factors has been struck between management and labor through an "exchange of obligations."

An economic rationality school led by Professor Kazuo Koike, Nagoya University, applies the American concept of internal labor markets and argues that Japanese-style labor-management relations persist because they are advantageous to both parties. A sixth theory, advocated by Professor Shumpei Kumon, Tokyo University, explains the pattern of labor-management relations through systems analysis of unique channels for employee suggestions and grievances.

All schools of interpretation would agree that the major characteristics of labor-management relations here are: lifelong employment; enterprise unions rather than industry-wide unions; a seniority-based wage system; extensive fringe benefits provided by the

company; and close communication and cooperation between management and labor.

According to the survey of labor and management representatives, scholars and other experts by the Social and Economic Congress of Japan, two major factors explain the peculiarities of Japanese labor-management relations: "a consciousness of a corporate community (or family)" and "discrimination."

Most survey respondents thought the following systems and traditions benefitted labor-management relations and should be retained: worker training by the company; enterprise unions; union membership for both white-collar and blue-collar employees; promotion opportunities; and lifelong employment.

The survey found several areas in need of reform: discrimination against women workers; inferior pay and benefits for non-regular employees; disparities in benefits and working conditions between companies; less favorable treatment of personnel who have worked in another firm; and excessive emphasis on academic background and seniority combined with a failure to recognize individual performance.

Foreign observers have regarded the "corporate community factor" as the core of labor-management relations in this country. With America and Europe hurt by a decline in worker discipline, the low rates of absenteeism, job-switching, strikes and defective products in Japan make Western executives turn green with envy. This performance is due to the fact that a corporation here is a kind of community with excellent communication and coordination between labor and management as well as among individual employees.

To function efficiently an organization needs both competition and integration. In many Japanese corporations these are skillfully meshed and achieve a multiplier effect which boosts productivity. Judging from the inefficiency of both public corporations here and many private enterprises in England which lack both competition and integration, these elements in tandem are an important reason for the success of Japanese management.



Foreign praise and talk of "Japan as Number One" does not mean there is no room for improvement. First, let us assume that labor-management relations here are based on a tacit agreement to reciprocate obligations over a long period of time and include non-monetary benefits. If this is an accurate picture, non-regular workers and women, who are usually not permanent employees, are excluded from and discriminated against by the corporate community.

Second, small- and medium-sized companies may and often do go bankrupt; labor and management cannot be sure that the long-term "exchange of obligations" will be honored. In short, Japanese-style labor-management relations exist only at big corporations.

Third, since many of the agreements are long-term, they are tacit understandings based on a mutual trust and not, as in America and Europe, specified in written contracts. It is always possible that even big corporations may unilaterally scrap these agreements.

Consider, for example, seniority-based wages and retirement allowances. They are advantageous and rational in the early years of a company's existence when there are few middle-aged personnel and few workers nearing retirement. As middle-aged workers and retirees increase, it becomes "rational" to abolish these systems. Unless labor wins a quid pro quo, employees will be hurt badly.

Fourth, quality control (QC) circles and company-run worker training programs are usually not subject to negotiation. To unions in Western countries these activities are far from what they regard as labor participation in management. While Japanese companies operating abroad have demonstrated the advantages of their management style, they are often criticized for preventing union organizing and union-busting.

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Endangered Species, The Communal Corporation  
(From the Asahi Shimbun, December 8. 1980)

Labor morale has sagged dangerously in many industrial nations. Younger workers, wanting more free time to pursue their own interests, are less committed to their jobs. The result is rising absenteeism and declining productivity. Even in Japan, usually thought to be immune to such problems, middle-aged managers are shaking their heads over the younger generation.

The 35-year-old president of a small Tokyo company, Mr. Asada (not his real name) tells about a new employee he took to Hong Kong for an important business meeting. Terrified because of his poor English, the young man locked himself in his hotel room and refused to come out or answer the telephone.

This junior executive may have been exceptionally timid. But Asada complains: "Every year we get more and more washouts who can't perform. It's not so much that they don't want to work as that they can't work...r When I think of what our new employees were like 10 or 15 years ago, I realize we're dealing with a new species.r"

Normally, Asada's company should not have personnel problems. It's a growth firm soon to be listed on the Tokyo Stock Exchange. Originally a family company, expansion has opened many promotion opportunities to young college graduates. But the quality of new employees is declining.

The big corporations, always able to skim off the cream of college graduates, are faring little better. A personnel officer in a large steel company says: "For the past 10 or 15 years, the quality of our new employees has been gradually falling off. We all recognize it. There are complaints from every department. Here are some typical comments about young employees: 'lack of persistence,r' 'zero writing ability,' 'not even enough spunk to argue back.r'" Some superiors have called for a review of the company's training program, an indication that the older generation feels partly to blame.

In 1980, the Japan Recruitment Center asked employers to compare new personnel with those hired four or five years ago. Recent college graduates were rated worse in stamina, drive, and practical and specialized knowledge; they scored better only in deportment and appearance. The difference was especially marked in personal drive and motivation.

Another survey, however, indicates that new employees today are more conformist than those hired before the 1973 oil shock. The Japanese Productivity Center and the Junior Executive Council of Japan, which poll new employees every year, report that in 1971 only 53 percent were prepared to unhesitatingly abide by the company regulations. By last year that number had swelled to 71 percent.

In 1971, 41 percent of the new employees surveyed thought that it was all right occasionally to break company rules; in 1980 only 22 percent thought so. In response to the question "What would you do if you had a date and were asked to work overtime?" 69 percent of the 1971 group said they would cancel the date, while about a third said they would keep it. But by 1980 the "work overtime" response had grown to 73 percent and the "daters" had declined accordingly.

Yet young Japanese do have other things on their minds beside work. When asked "With whom do you prefer to spend your free time?" more than half said friends from outside the company. The custom of going out with co-workers for a drink or a game of mahjong after work is slowly but surely dying out. Middle-aged employees, who have lived by the motto "My work is my life," feel that younger co-workers are "un-Japanese."

Last year a large manufacturer threw a lavish party for new employees. Bottles in hand, executives circulated among the young guests of honor, urging them to "Drink up, let's all get to know each other." But most of the new men were interested only in the food. After a while, looking at their watches and saying "I'm afraid I have an engagement tonight," they trickled out until only the angry executives were left. One of the departing men said, "It was kind of repulsive,

like a heavily made-up, aging geisha clutching at you."

Why are young employees so different? Tamotsu Sengoku, head of the Japan Youth Research Institute, explains: "They don't have a psychological need to be accepted by superiors and co-workers. For young people today, the office is simply a place to work, not a place where they are integrated into some larger group. They see their relationship with superiors as one of obligation and authority. A few drinks on the way home or a night playing mahjong together just doesn't fit into the picture."

According to Sengoku, young men do what they are asked to do, but more because they are following orders than from a personal commitment to the company or co-workers. Sengoku says, "They are getting the same attitude you see in American and European blue-collar workers."

The universities have come under fire for producing a generation of lackluster workers. Educators argue that this is true of only a small minority and that the companies must share the blame.

Kinjiro Iijima, head of Senshu University's placement center, says: "When a young employee is given unrealistic sales quotas or placed in a dead-end job driving a truck, no wonder he loses enthusiasm. It's true that more and more students do only what they are told, but those attitudes are formed by society. It's unfair to expect some kind of magical transformation as soon as the new graduate is hired. Many companies should take another look at their management methods and training programs."

Takekazu Aoki, who has had a long career in personnel management at the Kyodo Oil Co., says: "Today's young people are the 'New Japanese.' They don't have the persistence and drive we used to take for granted. You have to give them concrete, detailed explanations, and the reasons for a policy. You have to persuade them. Management doesn't understand that yet."

The Japanese company has been a communal society as well as a business enterprise. When a job went well, management and staff shared the triumph. When it didn't, they consoled each other over drinks at a

favorite bar. That harmonious blend of work, play, and human contact seems to be fading. The younger generation feels uncomfortable in the communal corporation, but managers see that attitude as a symptom of the "Japanese disease."

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## 4

**Japan in Asia**

Japan Should Avoid the Quagmire in Southwest Asia  
Hiroki Fukamachi, Institute of Developing Economies  
(From the Asahi Shimbun, February 17, 1980)

Many proposals have been made to "punish" the Soviet Union for invading Afghanistan. In weighing these proposals, Japan must consider why Afghanistan has gone socialist and must understand the realities in Pakistan, now an important link in the West's global defense.

During the Cold War, the United States and the Soviet Union competed in aiding Afghanistan. But their aid went more to keep the Afghan royal family in power than to develop the country's economy to benefit the people. Even after the 1973 coup overthrew the monarchy and established the Republic of Afghanistan, foreign aid was used to support the president's authoritarian rule.

The "national democratic revolution" of April 1978 was a turning point in Afghan history. It was a rebellion against an oppressive government and the primitive and exploitative economic conditions which had not changed in the slightest under the republic. The driving force behind the coup was urban intellectuals and the military. A majority of the latter had been trained in the Soviet Union. But to an unbiased observer of Afghanistan's recent history, the 1978 revolution was basically an endogenous attempt at reform.

However, the revolution led to increased Russian intervention in Afghan affairs and finally to the December 1979 invasion. Moscow acted



for several reasons: President Hafizullah Amin's attempt to reduce Soviet influence; stepped-up guerrilla warfare by antisocialist "Islamic rebels"; and the fear that the revolt might spread to the Islamic regions of the Soviet Union.

The United States contends that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is the first move toward control of the Middle East oil fields. I disagree. The invasion of Afghanistan does not augur an immediate Soviet advance to the Indian Ocean. Washington's alarmist assessment has resulted in a policy that relies excessively on military power.

Japan should vigorously protest Moscow's outrageous action and demand the withdrawal of Soviet troops. At the same time, we must be aware that behind Washington's overreaction lies a U.S. interest in continued access to Middle Eastern oil, concern over the Soviet arms buildup and President Jimmy Carter's re-election ambitions.

The United States, in cooperation with China, is helping Pakistan to improve its defenses, and preparing to assist anti-government forces in Afghanistan. Islamabad fears a Soviet advance southward and its own dismemberment. The Zia government wants aid from the United States and China, but remains very distrustful of Washington. Pakistan's demands stem as much from its economic crisis and the need to reinforce its unstable military regime as from the Soviet threat.

Japan can cooperate with Pakistan in many ways. The country's political and economic infrastructure is weak, and economic aid is needed. But we must be very careful about the nature and the timing of aid. If it appears that aid is given to implement American policy, it will only increase Pakistan's distrust of Japan. The other nonaligned nations, including the oil-producing countries, will think Japan is financing U.S. policy in the region. The superpowers' aid programs have not won them popularity in the Third World. Washington and Moscow sought to buy influence with the ruling elite rather than to alleviate poverty through economic development.

Hawks in Japan advocate assistance to Afghan guerrillas operating out of the sanctuaries in Pakistan. This would be not only useless but

dangerous. Many of the guerrilla forces are organized along tribal lines. Aid to one guerrilla organization rather than another would involve Japan in long-standing tribal disputes and exacerbate local rivalries. Our aid would be virtually useless as a means of punishing the Soviet Union.

Helping the guerrillas would not only be interference in the internal affairs of Pakistan and Afghanistan, but might also be the beginning of military intervention in Southwest Asia. Japan's aid could end up in the hands of the Pushtuns (Pathans), potential separtists within Pakistan. We could end up providing the guns and money that undermine Pakistan's national security.

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Japan's Modernization and the Third World  
 Takeshi Hayashi, Institute of Developing Economies  
 (From the Yomiuri Shimbun, eve. ed., April 2, 1980)

For the past two years I have been working with the United Nations University in Tokyo on a study of "The Japanese Experience with Modernization." Often modernization is a synonym for industrialization, and I have been examining how it was possible for Japan to adopt Western technology and absorb it so completely that we now export industrial know-how.

I have come to realize that technological competence is rooted deep in a nation's ethos, culture and social structure. At the risk of an oversimplification, the Japanese finger tip was crucial to successful industrialization. For example, in both the silk-reeling and the spinning industries, the machines were purchased abroad but it was the Japanese workers' manual dexterity that got the maximum efficiency out of the machinery. The workers quickly spotted broken threads and tied the ends together. It took a good hand-eye coordination. In other industrial sectors as well, the excellence of the five senses was very important.

Researchers from developing countries often ask me why Japanese had such highly developed senses, but I always find it difficult to give a succinct explanation. There are two aspects to the phenomenon. On the one hand, the Japanese, especially farmers, sharpened the five senses as they learned how to operate modern machinery. On the other hand, the population already had a basic aptitude for tools, looms and motors.

In the old days, farm families produced homemade textiles. They used the cotton seed and cultivation techniques most suited to their soil, and processed their own cloth. All these skills were part of family tradition. Most of the tools were also homemade. Each farm house, village, or district had its own efficient system for tool management, maintenance and repair. In addition to his knowledge of soil properties and crops, every self-respecting farmer was also a hunter (or a fisherman), carpenter, plasterer, veterinarian, blacksmith, irrigator and dyer.

The Japanese archipelago stretches from Okinawa in the subtropical zone to Hokkaido in the subarctic zone. Farmers' skills were as diverse as the crops, products and lifestyles produced by this climatic range. The preconditions for modern industrial organization, based on a division of labor and specialization, already existed. Today, with industrial production thoroughly automated, these skills and aptitudes are often regarded as irrelevant. But they are still very much needed. For example, in designing and sharpening a 30-meter diameter serrated wheel, a computer is useful, but the final touch depends upon the keen intuition of a skilled worker with long experience. Man remains a very important factor in making the best use of a computer.

One of the cultural differences between developed and underdeveloped nations is the concept of time. In the Japanese countryside "village time" is still kept in some places and meetings never start on time. But schools and railways in Japan are punctual. I was very surprised in England to hear the seven o'clock time announcement at 7:03 or even later.

According to one theory, the Japanese sense of time was heightened by the spread of sericulture, military service and public education. Raising silkworms was the major secondary work and source of cash income for farm families. Silkworms require constant care and delicate handling night and day. In farm villages, every household had its wall clock and thermometer. In addition, compulsory military service and increased high school enrollment also encouraged the use of watches. Families customarily gave watches as presents at these two rites of passage -- high school graduation and army conscription. Time consciousness came to be associated with the work ethic and the idea developed that "time is money."

But the admirable, single-minded diligence of the Japanese worker had a less happy dimension: a lack of compassion or sympathy for the uneducated, minorities and women. Another aspect of the work ethic is that loyalty to the company takes precedence over professional conscience. The organization a person belongs to is more important than his personal skills and qualities.

This mentality may be difficult for non-Japanese to understand. For example, Mr. F, a Japanese maintenance mechanic with Japan Air Lines in the Mideast, chose an Egyptian to take over his duties and trained him like a favorite discipler. But the Egyptian resigned when his mentor was transferred. The Egyptian insists that he worked with Mr. F rather than for JAL, and that he is looking forward to Mr. F's return so they can work together again.

Without an understanding of each nation's ethos, culture and society, Japan's assistance to the less developed countries would be regarded as unsuitable or intrusive. These nations want trade more than aid, and a new world economic order even more than trade. They demand that the most modern large-scale plants be built in their countries. But judging from my study of Japan's modernization, and confirmed by discussions with scholars from Third World countries, this is not the correct strategy.



Politicians and elites feel their national prestige is at stake in the competition for economic development. Often impatient for quick results, they fail to carefully consider if a technology fits into the ethos and culture of their society or if it will cause serious dislocations. Unfortunately, many countries lack capable manpower for this kind of study. Drawing from our own experience, Japan can help the underdeveloped nations by providing research and specialists from the new interdisciplinary field of area studies.

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To Know Japan is Not Always to Love It

Takashi Koyama

(From the Sankei Shimbun, July 7, 1980)

The better foreign students can speak Japanese and the longer they live in Japan, the more they come to dislike the country. This was one conclusion from a survey conducted by social psychologists Sumiko Iwao and Shigeru Hagiwara of Tokyo's Keio University among 773 foreigners studying at Japanese universities from 1975 to 1980.

According to the survey, the foreign students, particularly those from other Asian countries, distrusted Japan and the Japanese. Iwao and Hagiwara remarked, "If foreign students return home with negative feelings about Japan, these exchange programs are worse than useless. Since Japan is increasingly involved in international cultural exchange, we must become more adept at personal contacts with foreigners."

The attitudes of American and European students differed significantly from Asian students. In response to the question "What is your impression of the Japanese?", many Europeans and Americans replied with terms such as "warm," "easy to make friends with," and "easy to get along with." But many Asian students gave negative responses such as "prejudiced" and "stingy." Professor Iwao said, "Japanese are generous to European and Americans, but ignore Asians." In describing Japanese society, Westerners were more critical than Asian students, using the



categories "status-oriented," "clannish," "formalistic," "outdated ideas," and "sexual inequality."

Foreign student opinion varied significantly depending on whether they had attended a private or national university with the latter usually being a more negative experience. For example, foreign students at Tokyo University and other former imperial universities had an extremely low opinion of Japanese "trustworthiness" and tended to regard Japanese students as "very self-centered."

The more competent a foreign student becomes in Japanese, the more he thinks his hosts are "cold," "hard to make friends with," "very competitive," and "prejudiced." This was a common phenomenon regardless of region or nationality. Professor Iwao remarked, "Japanese deal in a very friendly manner with foreigners who can't speak Japanese. But they feel threatened by foreigners who can and tend to keep them at a distance. The results of the study reflect this."

The survey measured the attitudes of foreign students immediately after their arrival and eight months later. Many who initially regarded Japanese favorably later described them as "childish," "prejudiced," and "difficult to get along with." Some categories did not change over the eight-month period, including "industrious" and "very competitive." Negative impressions such as "sexual inequality," "formalistic," and "clannish" were reinforced.

The foreign students amplified their views in follow-up personal interviews. A Korean said, "Only one or two students in a hundred become Japanophiles. On the surface, Japanese are kind, but they won't ever let you become one of their group. I wish they would treat me as another human being and not just as a foreigner."

Not all foreign students dislike Japan. A student from Taiwan who has spent four years in rural Aomori prefecture majoring in parasitology said, "Aside from the high cost of living, I'm satisfied with my experience here." His successful sojourn was apparently due to friendship with a Japanese familiar with Taiwan and to participation in a joint research project.

Americans studying in Japan had markedly different images of Japan than their countrymen in the United States. They had a more positive view of Japanese as "honest," "generous," and "trustworthy" than respondents in the United States. Professor Iwao remarked, "The average American knows very little about Japan. High school students are particularly uninformed. Many confuse Japan with China."

Iwao and Hagiwara summarized their research conclusions: "There are many reasons why people come to like or dislike Japan. Some are pestered by drunks on crowded trains and think the country is made up of alcoholic boors. Others go to rural areas, are treated very kindly, and develop a positive image. The Ministry of Education and Japanese universities are partly at fault for not providing more information to foreign students and not making life easier for them. But the biggest problem is Japanese prejudice against foreigners."

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### A Month with the Afghan Guerrillas

By Shunji TAOKA

(From the Asahi Shimbun, August 29, 1980)

A Japanese student anxious to see war firsthand, lived with the Mujahideen Afghan guerrillas for a month, lugging ammo crates and rifles over rugged terrain and ducking into caves to escape Soviet helicopter gunship attacks. Akihiko Kudo, 22, a sophomore majoring in Indian philosophy at Toyo University, recently returned to Tokyo and gave an account of his experience to the Asahi Shimbun.

Kudo left Parachinar, a Pakistani border town 130km to the west of Peshawar, with an Afghan guerrilla munitions "convoy" on June 17 for an insurgent base tucked deep in the mountainous ravines of Logar province, 36km south of Kabul. The 11-man group was led by a 30-year-old former intern at Kabul University's medical school and also included an engineering graduate from the Afghan Institute of Technology. The supply "convoy" consisted of three mules loaded with 30 rifles,

including brand-new AK47s and SKS carbines, and eight crates of ammunition. Kudo was dressed as a native Hazara youth, an appearance he maintained while with the guerrillas.

The Afghans are fast walkers and have the night vision of infrared scopes, according to Kudo. They filed through hazardous mountain trails on moonless nights as if it was daylight. Kudo had to go at a half-run just to keep up with the group. The convoy made an arduous 130km detour through mountainous terrain and reached its destination in 48 hours.

On June 28, a messenger arrived from the provincial command post of Jamiat-i-Islami, another Muslim guerrilla group, to invite the "Japanese friend" to see some prisoners of war. According to the explanation given Kudo, 22 government troops in an armored personnel carrier and two trucks had been ambushed near the village of Sorhab. Four were killed and the rest were taken prisoner. Although two lieutenants were executed, the enlisted soldiers were treated kindly, and the wounded were getting medical treatment. "POWs haven't the slightest hesitation about joining the Mujahideen," laughed a guerrilla leader.

On the morning of June 30, two Soviet helicopter gunships, an Mi24 and an Mi8, whirled in on a reconnaissance probe. The next day the guerrillas learned that Soviet forces had left Kabul on a search-and-destroy mission against Sorhab. The guerrilla grapevine was remarkably efficient in spreading the news of an impending Russian attack. About 60 guerrillas deployed in the mountains to wait. The anticipated attack did not occur, but MiG patrol flights continued. Becoming impatient, the Jamiat-i-Islami guerrillas made a raid into Kabul, killed several Russians and returned with 10 AKM rifles and 13 cases of ammunition.

Later the guerrillas were tipped off of a Soviet assault scheduled for 8 a.m., July 6. The attack began over an hour later than predicted when Russian armored cars with 76mm guns fired into the valley where the guerrillas were holed up. The firing was light, about one round per minute, and even that stopped at 10 a.m. "Russians always take a lunch break," explained an Afghan guerrilla.

At 11 a.m., six Mi24 helicopter gunships circled overhead, each firing three salvos of rockets at ground targets. When they left, another six gunships took their place. The helicopters reportedly attacked in a standard pattern. Some, like the U.S. helicopters in "Apocalypse Now," swooped down with "Katyusha" blaring from loudspeakers. Their rockets, possibly 57mm antitank shells, blasted holes in the dirt walls of farmhouses, but were generally ineffective.

After two o'clock, Kudo left his cave shelter and went to the command post for lunch. Over tea the guerrillas boasted they would not let the Russians into their valley. Just then a howitzer shell exploded only 50 meters away. At 5 p.m. the Russian armor withdrew, but artillery fire and gunship attacks continued until 6:30 p.m.

Later that night when Kudo went down to the farmhouse where he had been staying, his host was being treated for gunshot wounds. The man said, "Slav" and held up two fingers in what Kudo thought was a V-for-victory sign. Actually, it indicated that he had killed two Russians. The guerrillas lost 13 in the day's battle, and the Soviets reportedly suffered similar casualties.

Although the Russian troops had broken off contact, lookouts reported 300 Soviet tanks and armored vehicles massed around the entrance to the valley. The Afghan guerrillas always try to avoid a numerically superior enemy. Working all night, the guerrillas packed weapons and ammunition and moved to another cave several kilometers further into the valley.

The next day, July 7, the Soviet troops began attacking at 5 a.m. with a much larger force than on the previous day. MiG-21s made bombing runs, dropping two bombs on each sortie; the bombs fell harmlessly, far from the hiding places. After this softening-up attack, Russian troops poured into the valley. The guerrillas fought back, and there was fierce firing right outside the cave. Kudo almost grabbed a gun and joined in the shooting but decided he would be wasting precious ammunition.



The Russian soldiers withdrew at nightfall because they were afraid to stay in the valley after dark. The guerrillas took advantage of night to slip out of the valley. Soviet armored vehicle gave chase, headlights glaring. The armor handled the steep inclines easily, but the engine sounds were audible for three kilometers, and warned the Afghans of pursuit.

Kudo's supply group hid for several days in a riverside camp about 10km from Sorhab. On July 15 they joined a camel unit on its way to Parachinar to pick up ammunition. They had to cross a minefield laid by the Soviets along the border with Pakistan. Kudo reached Parachinar on July 16, a month after he had left and 20 kilograms lighter.

On the way from one guerrilla camp to another, Kudo saw factory-condition Egyptian Ak41 rifles, RPG-7 antitank rockets, Chinese carbines and ammunition. Some guerrillas even had 12.7mm antiaircraft machine guns. Along the roads, Kudo observed many wrecked Soviet tanks and armored vehicles, apparently disabled by mines and antitank rockets. The weapon-short guerrillas often told Kudo they were going "AK shopping." These foraging trips to Kabul were usually made by pairs of guerrillas who attacked Soviet sentries with knives and took their rifles.

Kudo estimated that "Russians must be suffering 10 casualties a day within Kabul to snipers and knife attacks and at least 30 a day throughout Afghanistan. At this rate, 10,000 Russians will be killed in a year." The guerrillas told Kudo the Russians have brought in Polish, Czech, Bulgarian, Hungarian and Vietnamese troops. Kudo wondered "how long the Soviet Union will keep fighting this no-win war."

Having seen the plight of Afghan refugees in the Pakistani camps, Kudo knows how war has affected women, children and the aged. He plans to go back to Peshawar this autumn -- not to rejoin the guerrillas but to work for refugee relief.

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Japanese Company Switches from S.Korea to China  
(From the Yomiuri Shimbun, September 9, 1980)

NAGOYA -- A major Japanese machinery manufacturer is shifting production operations from South Korea to China. Yamazaki Iron Works has commissioned China's Jinan Machinery Public Corporation to produce 5,000 general-purpose lathes over a five-year period. The production/technological exchange deal is the first between Japanese and Chinese machinery makers.

Since 1977, nearly all Yamazaki's annual lathe production of 1,000 units has been manufactured by Taehan Heavy Machinery in Seoul. The lathes are sold in Japan as well as exported to Southeast Asia. But runaway inflation which has doubled South Korean wage levels and a decline in product quality prompted the switch to China.

Yamazaki began negotiating with the Chinese manufacturer in late 1978, and a technical agreement was concluded in August 1979. Since last year, Yamazaki had been providing technical guidance and directing the expansion of facilities at the Jinan plant in Shandong province. The Chinese company will procure more than 90 percent of all parts and supplies locally, and import the rest from Yamazaki. The annual production of 1,000 units will include two brands, Mazak and Mazak Mate, both general-purpose lathes. While the contracted production is exclusively for Yamazaki, any surplus production of Mazak lathes may be sold in China.

The Jinan Machinery Public Corp. has 3,000 workers and an annual production of 2,000 general-purpose lathes, the highest single-company production level in China. The company also reportedly has the best technology among Chinese lathe makers.

Two other Japanese machinery manufacturers are seeking similar production agreements or joint ventures in China: Okuma Iron Works, Nagoya, and Washino Machine Co., Komaki, Aichi prefecture. China's National People's Congress recently clarified laws and regulations for

joint ventures. Commissioned production contracts and joint ventures between Japan and China may increase greatly in the near future.

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From Bound Feet to High-heels  
By Makoto URABE, Fashion Consultant  
(From Bungei Shunju, October 1980)

The temperature reached a sweltering 104 degrees in Shanghai last July 26, matching the fever-pitch excitement in the Shanghai Art Theater. The occasion was a rehearsal for the first Chinese fashion show, and everyone was on hand, designers, dress-cutters, and factory officials.

Only a year earlier, in July 1979, the first public fashion show had been held in China. It involved Japanese designers and was arranged under a technological exchange program between Peking and Tokyo. China's ability to put together its own show so quickly was impressive. Considering the situation when the Japanese show was held, the changes in one year were nothing short of incredible. Before long, a decade perhaps, China will be in the front ranks of the international garment trade.

When I visited China in 1978, a leading textile manufacturing official asked me, "How can we export fashionable clothing to Japan?" A preliminary survey is usually the first step but since individual Chinese cannot make overseas trips, a direct look at the fashion market was impossible. Even a small delegation could not begin to comprehend the complicated, crazy world of Japanese fashion. Fashion trends are best understood by seeing the garments firsthand -- the medium is the message.

"I could bring over a fashion show," I suggested, but the prompt reply was, "We're not ready yet." Later in 1978, Pierre Cardin staged a show in China. Unlike Japan, Parisian fashion circles have strong government support, and the show was apparently arranged through

diplomatic channels. Although we were upstaged, the way was cleared for a Japanese show.

The Chinese were definitely not ready for Cardin and his entire Paris collection. The garments displayed at a designer's show are not for the general public. A show publicizes the house. It is a public relations tour de force. But the Chinese wanted to learn how to make stylish ready-to-wear garments.

In arranging the Japanese show, I was told repeatedly, "Please, we don't want another event like M.Cardin's." We attempted to demonstrate how trade merchandise could reflect Paris fashion trends. Contemporary designs using local materials and traditional Chinese techniques were included. This was a valuable feature of staging the show as a technological exchange.

A Japan Fashion Consultative Committee was organized by several fashion groups, including the Nippon Designers' Club and the Japan Design Cultural Association. Assistance was provided by internationally known designers such as Hanae Mori, Ichiro Kimishima, Yuki Torii and Jun Ashida. It was an all-star gala of the Japanese "rag" world, with 92 designers participating.

China is expected to become a major garment manufacturing center because it has lower wages and more skilled labor than Hong Kong, South Korea and Taiwan. Japan should be more involved by sponsoring exchanges of personnel and information. Consumers here will benefit from the influx of inexpensive quality goods.

While very appreciative of the Japanese show, our Chinese hosts felt it was premature to use Chinese models or publicize the event through TV and the press. Our suggestion that "exchange is a two-way street, so let's have a Chinese show in Japan next time" also drew a negative response. The Chinese reticence was genuine, but events moved much faster than they anticipated.

The first Chinese show, featuring a special indigo material originated 2000 years ago, was held in Tokyo and Kyoto in May 1980. In return for advice on designs, the Chinese offered their garments to

designer Nobuo Nakamura for sale in his store, and they sold out in a week. There is a good market for this indigo material in Japan.

The Chinese fashion industry made its home debut at the Shanghai show before buyers from all over the world. At the rehearsal, 17 beautiful Chinese models paraded on the stage. There is no modelling profession in China; they were chosen from youth theater groups. Yet they were good enough to work in Japan. In fact, because they had none of the strange gaunt chic and affectations of top Japanese models, their natural beauty effectively complemented the clothes.

The Chinese women apparently studied the way Japanese models walk and pose by watching video tapes of the earlier shows. Strutting in high-heels was a problem because the girls were wearing them for the first time. There was much massaging of sore feet backstage.

I was reminded of Kinuko Ito at a rehearsal back in 1949 when the modelling profession began in Japan. On the verge of tears, she said, "I've never worn high-heels before." Japan's third-place finisher in the Miss Universe contest and the Chinese ingenues have one thing in common: they started their glamorous careers with aching feet.

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### Strong Yen for Prostitution

by Ken OTANI, Senior Staff Writer

(From the Asahi Shimbun, October 27, 1980)

Japanese sex tours to Southeast Asia are a national disgrace. As a Japanese man, I find them embarrassing and indefensible. But no matter how angrily some women denounce international prostitution, it will always exist as long as there are men in rich countries and women in poor countries.

After Japan's defeat in World War II, much of the populace lived hand-to-mouth, never sure where the next meal was coming from. Large numbers of young U.S. soldiers were stationed here in the Occupation



forces and, naturally enough, the streets were soon full of prostitutes. The American soldiers had plenty of money, the authority and prestige of victors, and contempt for their vanquished foe. The Japanese looked on with mixed feelings as these prostitutes flaunted their American boyfriends in broad daylight, dangling on their arms and engaging in horseplay.

Near an elementary school in Fukuoka there was a cabaret with a "NO JAPANESE" sign. Rambunctious students would jeer at the women who frequented the place, calling them "pan-pan" (whore). One enraged woman stormed into the principal's office and said, "What's wrong with you bastards? We're bringing in dollars which Japanese can live off of, so at least be a little grateful!"

People pretended not to notice these women for fear that any criticism might offend the Occupation forces. But the public was not blind to the importance of the dollars they earned. With its steel and automobile industries shattered, Japan's only exports were small amounts of textiles, pottery and sundry goods.

According to estimates, the wages of sin easily matched this export income, but unfortunately there are no confirming data. The prostitutes also formed a sexual buffer zone between American soldiers and "good" women.

As a sign of gratitude for their service, perhaps the government should erect a monument to the prostitutes in Tokyo's Yurakucho area where many used to gather. The only book that describes their tragic circumstances is a mystery novel by Seicho Matsumoto, "Woman with a Past."

Japan is now a rich country. At Yokosuka, headquarters for the U.S. Seventh Fleet, a handful of bars have posted "JAPANESE ONLY" signs to keep out American sailors who used to have the run of the town. During the Occupation an "OFF LIMITS" sign usually meant Japanese keep out.

Japanese sex tours are not confined to Asia; they go all over the world, sustained by a strong yen and sound economy. And Southeast Asian



women come to Japan on tourist visas and earn small fortunes as prostitutes. One is reminded of the Japanese women who followed the same profession in Southeast Asia before World War II.

Prostitution reflects the fluctuations in a country's economic power. After all, as the oldest profession, it has survived the rise and fall of countless empires.

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Down with the Dummies, Up with Taiwan Trade

By Seiichiro YOSHIMURA

(From the Nikkei Sangyo Shimbun, December 4, 1980)

Major Japanese trading firms are coming out of the dummy-corporate closet in Taiwan and establishing regular offices there.

In July 1980, Tokyo Menka, which had conducted its Taiwan trade through a dummy company, Toshin Koeki, established its own Taipei office. Following suit, Nichimen Co. set up a Taipei branch and a Kaohsing office in November to take over the operations of what had been a front corporation. Nissho-Iwai has also announced that Beisei Trade Co., a dummy firm, will be closed and replaced by a regular branch office.

Changes in China are behind these moves. In the past, Chou En-lai's "four principles" required sanctions against firms dealing with Taiwan; they were banned from trade with Peking. But since the restoration of relations with Tokyo and Washington and the growth of friendly ties with both countries, China has relaxed its opposition to trade with Taiwan.

Ichizo Kimura, director, Kansai office, Association for the Promotion of International Trade, recently visited China and noted a shift in the official attitude toward Taiwan. Kimura says, "For China, the only unresolved issue is the national flag. If Taiwan accepts the

PRC's flag, Peking will not disturb the status quo, including present political, economic and military arrangements."

The trading firms that caught "China fever" when the Japan-China Treaty of Peace and Friendship was signed in August 1978 already had extensive ties with Taiwan. U.S. firms doing business with Taiwan took the initiative in expanding Sino-U.S. trade after diplomatic relations were established. Eager for economic cooperation with the United States and Japan to carry out the "four modernizations" policy, Peking turned a blind eye to the Taiwan links. According to a trading firm official, the situation has changed so much that "the party most eager to trade with Taiwan is Peking itself."

How will the Reagan administration, with its pro-Taipei views, affect China-Taiwan relations? The trading firms generally believe that "the new administration will not change present policy so sharply as to provoke China."

Since China has eased pressure against doing business with Taipei, the island has proved to be a good trade partner, with an economic record in the 1970s among the best in Asia. Although rising costs are a crucial bottleneck, Japan expects an increase in plant orders as Taipei expands its heavy and petrochemical industries and continues its export drive into Western markets.

The euphoria over Sino-Japanese trade prospects has been dashed by Peking's "readjustment" policy and cancellation of many contracts. Japan's 1979 trade with the People's Republic was \$6.6 billion, less by \$200 million than the trade with Taiwan, and exports to China are not expected to increase through the first half of the 1980s.

The switch from dummy corporations to branch offices will not bring much change in the trading companies' operations. But they expect that Taiwan, very sensitive to its international status, will appreciate the gesture.

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## 5

**Lifestyles and Attitudes**

Buddhist Blessings and Credit Ratings

-- The Automobile in Japan --

(From the Asahi Shimbun, April 14, 1980)

The automobile has left its mark on nearly every aspect of Japanese society. Traditional religions have found a new role in accident prevention, while insurance industry profits increasingly depend on automobile coverage. An offshoot industry of training schools prepares learners for the difficult license test and Japan's narrow, crowded roads. And an ancient profession, scribes, handles the endless paperwork for license applications.

The scene is the Kawasaki Daishi Temple, west of Tokyo. It is Spring Equinox week and the temple is bustling with visitors attending the special Buddhist services. A stocky temple priest faces a row of 40 cars and their drivers and begins to recite incantations to ensure their safety. Cars are "blessed" every day from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. at 30-minute intervals.

Kawasaki Daishi's blessings are famous for their power to ward off misfortune. The temple entered the traffic safety field in 1963 by building a special chapel and parking lot exclusively for the benediction of automobiles. Priests at the temple thought that as automobile ownership increased, traffic accidents would rise, bringing sudden tragedy into people's lives.

In the 1960s less than a hundred cars a year were brought in to be blessed. The number shot up to 25,000 in 1970 and reached 67,000 in 1979. The \$10.77 charge includes incantations, charms, amulets, stickers and an offering. In 1979, the temple's income from automobile benedictions exceeded \$755,000.

Recently, Kawasaki Daishi expanded its traffic safety services by assigning five priests and eight other employees to the benediction of autos. In the Tokyo metropolitan area, the temple is competing with Naritasan Shinsho Temple, Chiba prefecture, to be the "traffic safety mecca."

Shinto shrines are getting some of the action too. The Munakata Shrine in Fukuoka prefecture also specializes in traffic safety. It has a chapel where purification rites are performed to exorcise evil spirits. The chapel can accommodate 200 people, and the shrine's parking lot holds 1,000 cars.

Talismans in the form of keyholders, etc., and sacred oracles produced by computer print-out are on sale. The shrine's yearly expenses are about \$1.4 million, of which "80 percent is provided by income from traffic safety operation," according to Yukio Yamada, chief of public relations.

Each shrine has its own distinctive traffic safety amulets and talismans. They are all supplied by the Izutsu Co., a 280-year-old Kyoto-based maker of ceremonial vestments for priests and ritual utensils for shrines and temples. About ten years ago Izutsu began supplying 1,000 religious establishments across Japan with its traffic safety products, which now account for over 10 percent of its annual income.

No matter how much a person prays to Buddha and the gods, what happens if there is an accident? Non-life insurance companies take over from the temples and shrines. Prospective policy-buyers are told that the insurance company "will assume full responsibility for all claims and take care of the annoying negotiations involved in out-of-court settlements."

In 1978, 20 insurance companies collected \$7.4 billion in premiums from automobile policy holders. That was 52 percent of their total premium revenue. In the same year they paid out \$4.4 billion in claims resulting from automobile accidents. This was 2.7 times their payments in 1970.

The relative importance of automobile coverage to the non-life insurance industry is increasing. But industry spokesmen cite two problems: the compensation payment rate is higher for automobile policies than for fire or marine insurance, and there is more fraud with auto insurance.

In 1978, there were 1,202 arrests for automobile insurance fraud, and \$7.8 million was paid in false claims. Both figures were roughly double those for 1977, according to the National Police Agency. There were also more questionable claims than in 1977. Insurance companies in Osaka, Kyoto and Hyogo prefecture conducted a joint investigation of 110,000 claims for vehicle and property compensation during the four-month period of April-July 1978. One out of every 40 claims appeared to have been inflated to double the actual loss.

In August 1979, the 20 insurance companies established a nationwide data bank to exchange information on suspicious claims. "If our indemnity rate (claims paid divided by the premiums received) rises a few more percentage points, our profits will be nil. A deficit in automobile insurance will put us out of business," said a spokesman for the Japan Non-life Insurance Association.

Near the Fuchu Driver's License Testing Center in western Tokyo there is a bus stop called "By the Scriveners." Signs announce "Photographs and Typing" and "Applicant Service Center," and about 20 scriveners' shops do a brisk business. In 1979, some 1.2 million people used the scrivener's services to obtain new licenses, replace lost ones, renew licenses or register changes of address. Applicants are supposed to fill out their own forms but only about 30 percent take the trouble.

Koichi Tanaka, an administrative scrivener for 20 years, said, "Filling out forms is a nuisance to drivers, so we get 30 to 40



customers a day. Another reason is that our services only cost the average customer \$4.31.<sup>r</sup> Business seems to be very good.

About 1,400 driving schools throughout Japan are authorized to grant their students an exemption from the official driving test. In 1979, 1.8 million people received their licenses by graduating from these schools. The average applicant took 41 hours of practical training at \$12.93 per hour. In addition, fees for admission, classroom instruction on traffic regulations and for the drivers' tests may amount to \$250 per applicant. The schools also make money by training operators of two-wheeled vehicles, trucks and buses. Total annual income for the driving schools is estimated at \$1.4 billion.

The directors of these authorized training schools are usually retired police officials. At present, 33 of the 58 training schools in Tokyo and all 43 in adjoining Kanagawa prefecture are managed by former police personnel.

Audio equipment makers have capitalized on the popularity of cars among young people by producing automotive sound systems with amplifier, tape deck and speakers. When Pioneer introduced a new high-powered amplifier in November 1975, there had never been a car stereo like it,<sup>r</sup> and the company wondered if it would sell. Only 5,000 units were sold that year, but the number rose to 90,000 in 1976. Other audio equipment makers joined the battle, and by 1979 the number of units sold had skyrocketed to 740,000. Pioneer estimates that 1980 sales will break the 1 million mark.

Are the acoustics that good in cars? Or are the purchasers frustrated stereo buffs who are afraid to turn the volume up high at home for fear of disturbing the neighbors? Whatever the reasons, the \$425 stereo component systems are the rage today, especially with the younger generation.

Collection agencies are also getting a slice of the automobile pie. Consumer Credit Clearance (CCC) in Tokyo has 95 employees who track down delinquent debtors and help creditors collect their money. As of

February 1980, CCC has been commissioned by 200 auto dealers and 800 service stations to dun debtors.

"It's been barely six months since we began investigating delinquent auto bills, and this new line is already bringing in 10 percent of our business. This is a very promising field," said Eiji Tamaki, CCC president. The company's files contain about 3 million names of persons who have fallen behind in loan or credit card payments.

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### The New Right in Japan and America:

#### Changing Spots vsr the Two-Platoon System

By Shuichi KATO, prolific writer and literary critic

(From the Asahi Shimbun, July 7, 1980)

Public opinion is clearly drifting further and further to the right on both sides of the Pacific. In Japan, the conservatives won an overwhelming victory in the June parliamentary elections, while in the United States the Republican party has nominated its most hawkish presidential candidate since Goldwater in 1964. Ten years ago almost no one took the idea of a Reagan presidency seriously, so the political trend is unmistakable.

"Conservative" has different meanings in Japan and America. By definition, a conservative is a person who values political and cultural traditions, but those traditions are strikingly dissimilar in the United States and Japan. American conservatism is linked to the anti-communism of the 1950s and the cold-war policies of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. In longer perspective, the conservative tradition rests on the myth of the Founding Fathers and their ideals of political liberty and the free market. The diversity of their tradition enables American conservatives to simultaneously call for expanded military expenditures and less market regulation, for more intervention in the internal affairs of foreign nations and less federal encroachment upon local

government in the United States. They preach pluralism while also calling for a nationwide political consensus.

Japanese conservatism has very different roots. It is linked to prewar militarism and the doctrine of "national unity under the Emperor." It harkens back to the xenophobic and imperialistic aspects of Shintoism, the "Way of the Gods." To return to this tradition would mean the end of local autonomy, a controlled economy, a garrison state, and restrictions on freedom of thought and expression.

Japan's "Founding Fathers," the Meiji oligarchs, were neither revolutionary libertarians nor freedom fighters against colonialism and imperialism. The fundamental difference between the U.S. and the Meiji constitutions attests to disparate traditions. The 1889 Meiji Constitution, a "gift" from the sovereign Emperor to his subjects, imposed regimentation from above; it had no Bill of Rights to protect civil liberties from tyranny. This is the kind of constitution and society Japanese conservatives still want; they have warmly endorsed the American word "consensus," but have no use for its opposite concept, "pluralism."

The reasons for the conservative tide also differ. The American conservative revival seems to be a reaction against the hippyism and the antiwar/anti-government movements of the 1960s. Americans are disenchanted with detente and the SALT agreements, upset at the economic nationalism of the Third World, especially when it means higher oil prices and opposition to the United States in the U.N. But since the 1930s U.S. Soviet policy has swung like a pendulum between conciliation and cold-war inflexibility. The mood is now strongly anti-Soviet, but the pendulum may swing back again.

But in Japan there have been no swings of the pendulum, only a steady drift to the right. Japan's transformation into a peace-loving nation after August 15, 1945 was due to defeat and the Allied Occupation, not because of an internal reaction against militarism. Ever since the Occupation, Japan has been inexorably sliding back to the prewar conservatism. Just as the opposition parties haven't been able to win control of the Diet, nothing has blocked the right-wing revival.

Of course there has been resistance, and there still is, but it has never been strong enough to swing the pendulum in the other direction.

A third difference lies in the individual politicians and opinion makers in the two countries. American politics operates on a two-party rotation system. A newly elected president brings his own team of administrators to Washington and a new lineup of intellectuals charges into public view. But individuals generally do not change their opinions. In April, I met many American intellectuals who in 1968 were left-liberals, and they still hold the same views. By the same token, the neoconservatives now reaching for power were conservatives in 1968. Of course, this is a matter of degree, but a different tone in high-quality journalism and a conservative shift in public opinion are marked by a changing of the guard, not by the same people changing their views. Politically, America is a "two-platoon" society.

In Japan the situation is exactly the reverse. Upon my return from the United States, I found the same party was still in power, the same newspapers and journals were influencing public opinion and the same people were declaiming on public affairs. But now everything had shifted several degrees to the right. That is true of the whole political scene, from intellectuals to opposition parties, with the single exception of the Communist party. There are some new faces, but they're just the normal infusion of fresh blood.

To put the best face on the matter, one might say that we Japanese are highly adaptable to changing conditions. In contrast to America's two-platoon system, Japan is a metamorphic society. Our politicians and intellectuals are wont to change their spots -- some quietly, some dramatically. No doubt there is something to be said for this. But it makes it very difficult to safeguard basic democratic values, in particular the right of minority opinions to a fair hearing.

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Beauty Isn't Skin-deep

Issei MIYAKE, fashion designer

(From the Yomiuri Shimbun, July 29, 1980)

I am an inveterate face-watcher. On the train or walking in the street, my eyes are drawn to the faces of the people around me. For what expresses the infinite variety of mankind better than the human face? It reflects a person's circumstances and environment, perhaps even the age we live in.

Returning from an extended stay abroad, I have been struck by how the faces of Japanese women, particularly those of working women, have been growing more beautiful the past few years. I am not talking about conventional beauty, much less the skill or the lack of it in makeup. I mean a good face -- striking, vital, forceful, expressive.

The term "beautiful face" in Japan usually refers to a Western standard of allure and style; a face is considered extraordinarily attractive if it is Western-looking. I deplore this simplistic imposition of a Western standard when we have our own uniquely Japanese beauty.

I have noticed many good faces among the women at various business meetings. Perhaps they are the result of women taking a more active role in society. Women are asking themselves: What do I want? What should I do with my life? No wonder that women's faces have a certain sparkle and glow about them now. Women are overcoming that "victim mentality" and resentment, the consequence of discrimination and sexism in the workplace, and striving for personal identities. Sparkling faces are the result.

Sad to say, there is no sparkle in the faces of men. Theirs register total spiritual exhaustion. As organization men, their individuality has been submerged in a sea of dark blue business suits and corporate anonymity. Men have been completely overshadowed by these dazzling women who are shaping their own destinies.



I am no traitor to my sex, no advocate of feminism. I am just reporting that the good faces I recall recently were all women's. This should be a warning signal for men who have totally subordinated themselves to their organizations. Is that what they really want out of life?

For a recent fashion show, my first in Japan in three years, I hired only Japanese models. One of my objectives was to portray on the stage the beauty of the Japanese women I was encountering in the street and at work. Although the use of Western models in fashion shows and magazines is widely accepted as the quickest and simplest way to show off Western clothes to best effect, this practice seems increasingly anachronistic.

The world often regards Japan negatively for its preoccupation with industrial production and economic growth at the expense of the environment, tradition and humanistic culture. We must create a new culture out of the dynamic vitality of our people, a national culture rooted in our way of life. Only then will the world appreciate Japan for more than cameras, audio equipment and automobiles.

That foreign cultural influences enter Japan is all to the good. But we must hold fast to our identity lest this benign flood destroy our heritage. And we must take affirmative action to show that, indeed, things Japanese are beautiful.

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White-Collar Blues in Japan, Inc.

(From the Asahi Shimbun, August 23, 1980)

He has little confidence his company would try to dissuade him from resigning, but he still works hard to maintain good relations with his colleagues and his superiors. Often tormented by feelings of loneliness and alienation, he gives up early on becoming the CEO or a top executive

in his company. Even in Japan with its celebrated community spirit in the workplace, personal relationships can be surprisingly cold.

This picture of the typical college-educated employee emerged from "A Follow-up Study on College Graduates," recently released by the Japan Youth Research Institute. The report also includes comparative data on graduates from Harvard University, Munich University and the Munich Institute of Technology.

The study shows that the training provided by Japan's colleges and universities is superficial and inefficient. By contrast, the higher education systems of the United States and West Germany seem to do a far better job preparing students for careers.

The report concerns 2,011 individuals who graduated from college in 1972 and are now employed at 200 corporations and 16 government offices and public agencies. The data were collected seven years after the subjects had graduated from college and begun working.

College-educated Japanese employees exhibited a notable "lack of confidence." To the question, "If you turned in your resignation, would your company's operations be seriously affected and would they attempt to dissuade you?", 18 percent answered "Definitely not." When the "Probably no" replies are included, two out of three Japanese employees believe their company would not try to persuade them to stay.

When asked, "How do you think your superiors evaluate you?", out of five possible choices, 52.8 percent answered "average" and only 8.4 percent picked "excellent." Even allowing for the Japanese tendency to regard humility as a virtue, there is a night-and-day difference from the American respondents, nearly half of whom answered "excellent."

As might be expected, the desire to maintain good personal relations on the job was particularly strong among the Japanese respondents. To the question, "The deterioration in which relationships would disturb you the most?", nearly 60 percent answered "Relations with my fellow workers," while less than 10 percent said "Relationships with friends outside of work." By contrast, only 30 percent of the Americans

and 16 percent of the Germans answered "Relationships with my fellow workers."

Is the work environment what Japanese employees expected it to be before they were hired? The survey indicates that the office or corporation is much less friendly and "familial" than is generally believed. For example, one question asked, "When the section chief speaks to you personally, do you feel he is doing so because it is his job to encourage his staff or because he is genuinely interested in you as an individual?" More than half of the Japanese said that it was for the former reason, as opposed to a quarter of the Americans and a third of the Germans. Only 5 percent of the Japanese chose the latter, compared to more than a third of the German and American respondents.

Japanese college graduates appear to have very strong feelings of loneliness and alienation despite the fact that they lead, more than their foreign contemporaries, job-centered lives. The importance of the job is indicated by such responses as "When my value to the company is recognized, I have a real sense of satisfaction" (58 percent) and "I really want to master the skills and knowledge related to my work" (62 percent). Yet they feel that the office is not where "I can wholeheartedly devote myself" and they admit "irritation" and "emptiness" because they cannot fully express themselves in their work.

Regarding advancement within the company or office, when interviewed three years after being hired, 11 percent felt they could reach "the top." However, four years later this survey found only 5.9 percent still believed the board room was within reach. In America and West Germany, the percentage did not change over the four-year period. The rapidity with which Japanese resigned themselves to not reaching the top rung of the corporate ladder was striking. However, 40 percent felt they could reach the "middle level" of their organizations, and a middle-management position seems to be the majority's career goal.

Analyzing the results, Institute Director Tamotsu Sengoku and his colleagues say that one of the significant findings was that Japanese college graduates lack competence in special professional skills. Once

hired by a corporation, they are utilized as generalists. They seem resigned to the fact that companies shift people around and anyone can be replaced.

Institute researchers also noted that while in the United States and other countries the knowledge and skills acquired in college are esteemed, in Japan the value attached to a college education has been declining. The Japanese higher education system, which makes entrance to college difficult but graduation easy through few requirements and low standards, seems to be one cause of the malaise.

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"Wait Till Next Year," Japanese Style  
(From the Hochi Shimbun, September 30, 1980)

The Tokyo Yomiuri Giants, Japan's most popular professional baseball team and once perennial champions, lost to Hiroshima's Toyo Carp on September 29 and were mathematically eliminated from the 1980 pennant race. Trailing the front-running Carp by 18 games, the Giants could win their remaining 13 games while the Carp lost all 20 of theirs and still not catch up.

In a Japanese baseball ritual, Giants' manager Shigeo Nagashima, a superstar with the Giants in their heyday, issued a public apology for the team's poor showing. Addressed to the fans, it was a gesture to placate the indignant bleacherites whose hopes were dashed as the Giants failed to win for an unprecedented third year in a row. Manager Nagashima's apology appeared in the top sports newspaper the next day.

"Tonight the Yomiuri Giants' hopes of winning the league title came to an end. I have failed to fulfill my responsibility to our many fans throughout the nation. There is no way I can properly apologize, no words adequate to atone for your disappointment. I am personally to blame and there can be no excuse for my performance. I must accept your recriminations with humility.



"During the spring exhibition season I was certain our young players would come through for us and we would win the pennant. I was overly optimistic. When the season began, our younger men felt they had to win this year, to live up to expectations. They were tense and the psychological pressure proved too much for them.

"We were terrible in the field and inept at the plate. We could not score in the clutch and lost many games by one run. The past two games against Hiroshima were typical of our miserable performance all season. We were ahead in both but let the games slip away in the late innings.

"Our poor fielding and weak batting in the final innings were due to lack of experience and a tendency to wilt under pressure. If my handling of the team contributed to these failures, I must take the responsibility. The mid-season injury to our best lefthander, Hisao Niura, and John Sipin's slump, after he played so splendidly in the spring, also contributed to our poor showing.

"I am not perfect as a manager. I still have a lot to learn. But I love the Giants. And I stand second to no one in my total commitment to making the Giants worthy of our fans.

"My coaches and players did their best. When I enforced an early curfew for several weeks, I'm sure they resented it. I wanted them to concentrate on the game and break our losing habits. With the enthusiastic support the fans had given the Giants, it seemed proper that the team accept sacrifices and discipline. I am grateful to the team for complying with that order and trying to understand my intentions.

"In baseball you either win or lose. We are out of the pennant race now, and there is no point in talking about what might have been. But I am confident of one thing: the Yomiuri Giants will be a much stronger team next year. Our young players are improving and this year's bitter disappointments will make them better ballplayers.



"Next year if we can get one or two runs when we need them, we will win a lot of gamesa The Giants can be a winning team. We will do our best in the remaining 13 games of the season. I ask that you don't lose faith in us and continue your marvelous support."

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 Personal information on Nagashimaa

Born on February 20, 1936a As a freshman at Rikkyo (St. Paul's) University, he made his debut in Tokyo's Big Six university baseball leaguea He set a new home run record during his college careera Nagashima joined the Yomiuri Giants in 1958 and he led professional baseball in home runs and runs batted in that year. Until his retirement in 1974 when he became manager of the Giants, Nagashima was instrumental in raising enthusiasm for baseball in Japan. He and teammate Sadaharu Oh were Japan's baseball's heroes and led the Giants to nine consecutive championships (1965-1973)a Nagashima won the batting championship six times, the RBI title five times, and was the home run leader twicea He is often regarded as a symbol of Japanese baseball, but he is not universally rated a top-notch manager.

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The Young Men in the Dark Blue Suits  
 (From the Asahi Shimbun, October 6, 1980)

The job-hunting season opened on October 1 for college seniors who will graduate next spring, and they are lined up for interviews at companies all over Japan. Employers say they are not so much concerned about good grades as the applicants' "personal qualities." But what qualities are personnel officers looking for?

Nearly every recent graduate starting work in a big corporation wears a dark blue suita These young men of the postwar generation have grown up amidst new values -- democracy, liberalism and individualism. They have been spared the older generation's experience of the

authoritarian militarism that dominated Japan through the end of the Pacific War.

Given the liberal, pluralistic ethos since 1945, young men should want to express their individuality and have a keener sense of style and fashion. You'd think that the staid sameness of business suits would be anathema.

Through their student years their clothing varied from outright scruffy to passably neat. But from the day they took the company employment examination, off went the casual attire and on came the dark blue suits. This says much about Japan today. To fit into the behavioral norms of a corporation, young people spontaneously homogenize themselves into look-alikes. No company dress code is needed when they embrace conformity so enthusiastically.

A foreign specialist on Japan has pointed out that the extremely conservative cut of men's suits is a feature of corporate life here. Sartorial individuality would make a man conspicuous; to avoid such distinction is the highest value of the Japanese mentality. Young would-be executives create self-effacing identities for themselves by donning dark blue suits. The younger generation has unconsciously accepted the corporate ethic of the organization man.

These young men have a chameleon-like ability to adjust instantly to their surroundings. But how do the corporations, which say they are interested in a man's "personal qualities," regard this conformism? Perhaps job seekers are well aware that the slogan is just company rhetoric and that personnel officers are looking for team players. A dark blue uniform is the best protection against suspicion of individuality.

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## Alienation and Values

By Koichi OGINO

The Psychiatric Research Institute of Tokyo

(From the Asahi Shimbun, evening edition, October 8, 1980)

Technological civilization, accompanied by economic growth, will continue to expand over the next decades at an even faster rate than during the last quarter century. The abrupt concomitant cultural change is having an enormous effect on our mental lives, as the large and growing number of patients suffering from psychoses and neuroses so sadly attest.

Modern technological civilization is invading every corner of the earth. In even the remotest Japanese villages there is a nearly 100-percent diffusion rate of TVs, automobiles and telephones. Superhighways are transforming the rural landscape and mechanized farming has replaced backbreaking manual labor. This cultural change creates discord in traditional societies and is a contributory cause of depression and other socio-psychopathological phenomena.

Two actual cases will illustrate my point. One 50-year-old farm woman suffered depression when she sold, for a very good price, the fields and rice paddies her family had farmed for generations. Another woman, 54, became severely depressed after she rebuilt, "modernized," her home. Psychoanalysis revealed that the root cause of their depression lay not simply in the "lost" fields or house, but in the loss of the traditional culture and value systems which "land" and "home" symbolized.

The psychiatric and mental hygiene movements that started with Pinel in 18th century France were closely related to the emphasis on productivity after the Industrial Revolution and to medicine's triumph over religion. While those who did not work - the lazy, royalty, the aristocracy and the clergy - were "reformed" or liquidated, those who could not work - the insane - underwent "psychiatric treatment."

Medicine was enlisted in the service of a technological civilization whose god was productivity.

Modern psychiatry, influenced by Freud's psychoanalytic methods, tries to analyze and understand the psychopath's inner world. The mentally ill are now regarded as alienated from their particular life-situation in the technological civilization.

There is, of course, a counter-argument which runs something like this: "Agreed, some people cannot adapt to a technological civilization, but there have been misfits in every culture and every age, and the vast majority today have benefited from technology."

In my view, a culture which alienates some cannot be that pleasant for the adjusted majority either. Which leads me to ask, what value system can structure a world in which both the healthy and the alienated can live happily? The answer, I think, lies in religious values.

In the paradoxical words of Shinran, founder of the Pure Land sect of Buddhism: "Even the good can attain Buddhahood, so much more should the evildoers reach the Pure Land." Or as Jesus said: "I tell you, there will be more rejoicing in heaven over one repentant sinner than over ninety-nine virtuous men who have no need of repentance." Surely helping the few who are alienated from their era and culture is the very essence of religion.

Technology has rapidly shrunk the world. Moreover, the technology is standardized: -- transistor radios are the same everywhere and South Korea's newest steel plant is nearly identical in design and equipment with Japan's mills. Will the result be an insidious homogenization of all cultures? I do not believe so.

On the contrary, conflict between tradition and modernization is an apparently intensifying worldwide phenomenon. Language is another example. English is now an international language but nations will not abandon their native tongues in favor of English. Similarly, the various religions of the world cannot be synthesized into one system of beliefs.

In that enduring diversity, three principles should underlie our value systems. The first is peace. The second is toleration of other religious beliefs and acceptance of diverse cultures, each with its own language and values. And the third is a love for others, as exemplified in the words of Shinran and Jesus.

The alternative is religious and ideological warfare-- the insistence that one's own religion or ideology is the only true one. Wringing affection or acquiescence from others is not the path to brotherhood.

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#### Kimchi and Changing Japanese Tastes (From the Asahi Shimbun, December 2, 1980)

Instructor Chong Dae-Song, 47, asked a class of 350 Japanese women at a Korean cooking school here if they had ever tasted Korean cuisine. Nearly all said yes. What had they eaten? The almost unanimous answer was "grilled meat." Had they tried kimchi? Again, almost all had. Chong then asked the class, "Where does the term kimchi come from?" Most of the women were not sure but thought it was probably a Japanese word. Only four knew that it is Korean.

Mr. Chong says, "I was startled to discover that even these enthusiasts who want to learn Korean cooking didn't know such a basic fact. But it shows how kimchi has become part of the Japanese diet."

When Korea was a Japanese colony, kimchi was disdained as "reeking of garlic" and "too spicy." Too strong for Japanese tastes, it was not sold here. After World War II, kimchi appeared on the black market, and Korean restaurants featuring grilled meat began to flourish. Known as "hormone restaurants," they were patronized overwhelmingly by Koreans.

By the mid-1950s, many Japanese men were regularly stopping off at Korean restaurants for grilled meat Korean-style. From about 1965, as retail food shops expanded, kimchi became a popular supermarket item.



It now accounts for 20 percent of annual pickle sales of \$1-2 billion. With about 15,000 Korean restaurants in Japan, several hundred thousand Japanese are eating grilled meat and kimchi every day.

Kimchi is made from Chinese cabbage and other cabbages which are salted and sprinkled with red pepper. Meat and fish are added to some varieties. The cabbage gets its distinctive flavor and vitamin content by the action of lactic acid during the aging process.

The traditional Korean dish became popular here at a time when Japan's standard diet was replaced by a remarkable increase in meat consumption. Kimchi goes well with meat and with rice, still a staple.

Mr. Chong says, "I found kimchi at every bazaar along the Silk Road through Central Asia. It is probably Korea's best known cultural export."

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## 6

### Common Problems

Dolphins' Rights vs. Fishermen's Livelihood

By Kazuhiro MIZUE, Professor of Resource Biology,  
Ocean Research Institute, University of Tokyo

(From the Asahi Shimbun, June 7, 1980)

Two years ago, Japanese dolphin experts, some specialists in marine acoustics, and other scientists formed the Research Committee on Dolphin Control. They meet three times a year, searching for ways to chase the animals harmlessly out of the fishing grounds where they have been wreaking havoc.

At every meeting, researchers present new acoustic devices which they have invented and tested. Comparing notes, they discard unworkable ideas and plan further tests on promising ones. Their zeal is commendable, but unfortunately they have not been very successful. There have been some hopeful results, but a sure solution is still in the future.

The scientists' work is complicated by the fact that dolphins are very active deep-sea creatures. It is an achievement even to get close to them, for they possess amazing powers of hearing which we have only begun to understand. By choosing to compete with this kind of animal on his home ground, the scientists have set themselves a truly formidable task.

On May 20, the day before the last meeting of the committee, the decision on the "dolphin case" was handed down in Nagasaki district

court. Dexter Cate, an American conservationist accused of slashing fishermen's nets near Iki Island in order to free captive dolphins, was given a six-month suspended sentence and placed on three-years' probation.

As scientists, none of those present at the meeting felt qualified to pronounce on the fitness of the sentence. But they were all certain that Cate's action was a punishable offense.

The dolphin issue has become an international controversy, and the trial was no exception. The defense went so far as to bring in a philosophy professor from Australia to appear as a friendly witness. But the trial itself was marked by misunderstanding; the prosecution and defense simply argued past each other. Cate contended that dolphins are lovable and intelligent, and should be protected. The fishermen argued that they were only protecting their livelihood.

From a scientific standpoint, it is still too early to say whether or not dolphins are as intelligent as they seem. They are indeed very active, and possess a large and complex brain. But until we have further biological and ecological evidence, it is very subjective to conclude that dolphins are the "humans of the sea."

One must concede Cate's other point, however, that dolphins are lovable. We scientists who work with dolphins every day are continually struck by their good nature. Unlike land animals, they have not yet learned what it is to be hunted and slaughtered by man. Living without enemies in the abundance of the ocean, they are sportive and amazingly friendly.

Still, lovable or not, dolphins have become a serious competitor in the race for survival. As we learn more about the habits of these mammals, it becomes clear that they are voracious eaters, at the very top of the marine food chain. In addition to valuable food fish such as mackerel, yellowtail, and tuna, they even eat bottom-dwellers such as sea bream.

These very fish form the core of the Japanese diet. Especially when dolphins compete for the same fish at the same place and time, they

are rivals who cannot be ignored. Pole and line, longline, and seine fishermen around Iki have all been hurt financially by the dolphins.

Thanks to the efforts of our forefathers, we humans have been able to carve out for ourselves a tolerable position on this earth. We have been forced to drive away, and even to exterminate, many troublesome or dangerous animals. Is there any reason to think that things will be different in the future?

It is especially unjust to criticize the Iki fishermen when dolphins are in no danger of extinction. They are extremely numerous, even to the point of saturation. It is too much to ask that the fishermen, with their livelihood at stake, stand by and watch their traditional fishing area turned into a playground for dolphins.

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### Japan's Trashed Beaches

By Masao NAKAMURA, staff writer

(From the Yomiuri Shimbun, June 17, 1980)

Japan's once picturesque white sand beaches marked by green pine trees are gone. The trees have died and the sand is black from congealed organic matter. Millions of bathers flock to the seashore each summer only to find that filthy beaches are getting worse every year.

The Pacific Ocean Study Association, established to handle various ocean-related problems, is trying to do something about the pollution of Japan's coastline. Its goal is to "make Japan's beaches as clean as Waikiki." The association has formed a research team on beach problems, and in 1979 its scientists surveyed the Miura peninsula, a popular bathing area near Tokyo.

One fundamental difference between Miura and Waikiki is that the Japanese beaches are used by local commercial fishermen. The Miura beaches and many others become recreational areas only during the

summer. The rest of the year, fishermen work on the beaches bringing in their catch, collecting seaweed and mending nets. One fisherman said, "In the winter we can make a living from the sea, but the fish aren't running in the summer. We need more bathers using our beaches."

Before each summer swimming season, the Environmental Agency and prefectural health departments check for colon bacilli, and beaches with polluted water are closed to bathers. But public hygiene is only one aspect of beach pollution. The authorities must also test the muddiness of the water and the dirtiness of the sand.

When this writer called city officials on the Miura peninsula to complain about the dirty beaches, they replied, "Oh, you mean trash?" I said there was trash, of course, but "the sand was also dirty, full of all kinds of filth." The administrators didn't understand what I was talking about. They think of the beaches primarily as workplaces for fishermen and only secondarily as a bathing resort. No wonder the beaches get worse every year.

At one of the most popular bathing beaches near Hayama, association scientists checked the water before and during the summer season. During the busiest hours of the day, the quantity of nitrogen in the water increased markedly due to bathers urinating in the ocean. By 11 o'clock each morning, the few rubbish containers were overflowing with garbage.

A survey conducted in early August 1979 showed there was an average of 35 people for each 10 square meters of beach space. Ideally, each person should have two and a half square meters of beach space. The same 10 square meters yielded an average of 103 cigarette butts, 19.8 pull-tabs from soft drink cans, and 9.8 beer bottle caps. Rubbish containers were situated at 100-meter intervals; for the size of the crowds, there should have been one every 10 meters. Mrs. Suzuki, a former owner of a bathing resort guest house, remarked: "Beach house owners rent the land from the prefecture but the prefectural government never cleans up the beach."



Mr. Yoshioka, an advertising executive, told the study group: "The Miura peninsula alone should have a 100,000 trash cans, but the beach towns cannot afford to buy them. Why not use containers with advertisements on the sides? I'm sure many companies would be willing to donate them." Mr. Nakajima, secretary-general of the Pacific Ocean Study Association, opined that "The Japan Tabacco and Salt Public Corporation should donate receptacles for cigarette butts, the biggest trash item of all."

Recovering cigarette butts and pull-tabs from the sand is not easy. Japanese can makers could learn a lesson from their U.S. counterparts who a decade ago, during a campaign to recycle aluminum cans, converted from pull-off to push-in type tabs.

Some conscientious bathers and campers bury their rubbish. But buried garbage blackens the sand and sometimes it becomes uncovered. In Mr. Yoshioka's words, "We should use beach cleaners more frequently. In the United States I saw beach-cleaning machines going over the beach twice a day: in the early morning and late evening. Even in winter they are used once a week."

Miura city has its own beach-cleaning machines, as does nearby Kamakura, though they are only used at the beginning and end of the bathing season. The machines presently in use are expensive and inefficient. They stroke the sand but cannot retrieve buried rubbish or large pieces of trash.

As one association member laments, "What a shame that, despite prosperity and more leisure time, there are few good beaches available and the ones we have are a national disgrace."

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Warden Yamada: Japan's Brubaker

By Hachiro OSHIKA, senior staff writer

(From the Asahi Shimbun, evening edition, July 29, 1980)

On a recent television quiz show, a participant was asked, "What does the warden of Mie Prison call the inmates?" The correct answer was "boarders." Kaneo Yamada, who took over as warden at Mie this June, had already attracted nationwide attention for radical innovations at his previous post, Abashiri Prison.

On Yamada's first day at Mie he went around the facility unarmed and greeted the men individually. He slapped prisoners on the back and said, "I may not be much to look at, but I'm the new guy in charge of this boarding house."

Yamada's "boarders" are adult, male first-offenders serving sentences of eight years or less. Their crimes range from theft, drug possession and fraud to armed robbery, sex offenses and murder. Located in Mie prefecture, the prison has about 670 inmates and a staff of 169.

An incident soon after Yamada arrived at Mie shows the changes taking place there. A convicted murderer escaped from a prison in neighboring Gifu prefecture. At Mie Prison, news of the escape was not censored from newspapers or radio and TV broadcasts. To the inmates of Mie, the non-censorship policy was probably more of a surprise than the escape itself.

Yamada explains his philosophy this way: "I have faith in my boarders. It comes from personal contact with them. I always say, 'I believe in you guys. Respond to that trust. Don't let me down.' It's a process of give and take."

Yamada has instituted several basic reforms at Mie. Inmates are no longer required to sit rigidly at attention during meals. They are permitted to read books and magazines during their free time and may subscribe to any periodical they like.

Rules concerning visitation by family and relatives have been relaxed. Wire netting and plexiglass screens have been removed from the visiting room, and the width of the counter separating prisoners from visitors has been reduced from four feet to about a foot. Prisoners can now hug their children and hold hands naturally with their wives or other visitors.

The inmates can also serve tea to their guests. Before visits, prisoners change from grey prison uniforms into sweaters and slacks. Families were at first startled and then delighted at these changes.

Putting these reforms into practice took several months. The staff resisted changes and clung to the old ways, but Warden Yamada gradually persuaded them to cooperate. He intends to implement other innovations in the near future.

One is the removal of bars from the room where the men bathe. The reason: "They're all naked in there anyway and can't run away." Another is to remove the one-a-month limitation on sending letters. Yamada also plans to experiment with a partial suspension of the "lights-on all night" and lockup policies.

Perhaps the most significant reform Yamada has instituted is educational and recreational field trips. Groups of inmates have visited the famous Shinto shrine at Ise, gone to school baseball games, and made trips to the beach for swimming. Dressed in civilian clothes and wearing baseball caps or straw hats to conceal their close-cropped prison haircuts, they pile into minibuses with box lunches in hand. Guards dress the same way and go unarmed.

The idea for these trips came from baseball. Warden Yamada says: "Going to high school baseball games has instructional value. To sit in the stands and feel the excitement of an entire year's effort riding on a single pitch -- that is educational. The ball park is less than a mile from the prison. You can hear the roar of the crowd from inside the walls. That's how I hit on the idea. I have the prisoners walk to the games. Getting to know the town a bit in that way is also a learning experience."

The prison orchestra, the Sakuragaoka Pops Ensemble, has entertained at a home for the aged. Founded 28 years ago, the group had never performed outside the prison, and its debut was a smash success. The elderly audience enthusiastically joined in the singing.

Returning from their visit to the Ise Shrine, the inmates stopped off at an amateur song festival being held at the seaside in Futamigaura. Singing at the top of their voices, which is not allowed inside the prison, they gazed out over the wide ocean. A 60-year-old murderer bellowed out a lullaby, but no one laughed. Many in the audience had tears in their eyes.

The field trips have included more mundane but equally precious tastes of freedom. Stopping at a roadside cafe, the prisoners ate pastry and crowded around vending machines selling instant noodles. They also amused themselves playing computer games. No one went near the beer and cigarette machines which are off limits.

Yamada insists that despite these innovations, he runs a tight ship. "We haven't slackened the discipline. As far as the jobs they have been assigned as part of their punishment go, we work them hard. It's just that we've drawn a line between that labor and the rest of their lives."

He doesn't care for labels like "modern methods of prison administration." Yamada says, "Let's dispense with such fancy terms. And I'm not much interested in the legal codes, either. Experience is my only textbook. The present Prison Act came into effect in 1909. Anyone can see that it is outdated. The one thing I know for sure is that we have to look at things from the inmates' side. They have been ignored in prison policy. We have to shift the emphasis from confinement and coercion to preparing inmates to return to society."

Councillor Yasuo Oshiba of the Ministry of Justice's Bureau of Corrections comments: "Mie Prison's unique, liberal methods of treating inmates are the new direction for prison administration. We must do away with punitive restrictions on convicts."

The government's Advisory Council on the Legal System is currently discussing a complete overhaul of the Prison Act, the first in over 70 years. Recent changes by Warden Yamada seem to anticipate this spirit of reform. Behind the traditional red-brick walls of Mie Prison, the times are changing.

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### Japan as Number One in Sexism

By Yayori MATSUI

senior staff writer, Asahi Shimbun

(From Sekai, August, 1980)

Japan was a reluctant participant when the International Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women was signed at a U.N. conference in Denmark last summer.

The Japanese Government initially planned to ignore the signing ceremony. But women's groups strongly protested, and the government finally agreed to sign up in Copenhagen.

The convention, a crystallization of the women's liberation movement in the 1970s, is the result of innumerable U.N. committee meetings and debates since 1973. The Scandinavian countries reportedly wanted a progressive and egalitarian document, while some Catholic and Islamic nations formed a conservative opposition. Japan, an underdeveloped country where the status of women is concerned, proposed numerous regressive revisions. When they were not accepted, Japan declared its intention to reserve compliance.

For example, draft Article 3a called for prohibition of discrimination against women by passage of "legislative measures with sanctions." Japan's motion that such sanctions be applied only "in appropriate cases" was adopted. Article 11-2a calls for the "prohibition by sanctions" of the discharge of women for reasons of



pregnancy or childbirth. Japan again sought, unsuccessfully, to weaken the article by adding "where appropriate."

Article 10b on education stipulates "the same educational curriculum for both sexes." Japanese representatives wanted to revise the wording to "the same or equal." In high schools here, home economics is only compulsory for girls. This attempt to insert "equal" received no support whatsoever. Continued discrimination in some countries against blacks under spurious "separate but equal" formulas resulted in Japan's attempt being spurned as a deception.

Article 9-2 on the nationality of children requires equal rights for both sexes. Japan sought deletion of the clause on the grounds that, "it is inappropriate to place a children's issue in an article concerned with discrimination against women." The real reason for the objection is Japan's patrilineal Nationality Law. However, after minor changes in wording, the article was retained.

Japan also sought deletion of other articles concerning a child's rights of inheritance, such as for legitimate and illegitimate children, because under Japanese law they are treated differently. The article was eliminated as a result of the Islamic contention that equal rights of inheritance for boys and girls violated the Koran.

Japan consistently objected to the progressive and forward-looking portions of the convention. Lacking a commitment to eliminate deeply-rooted discrimination against women, the government was unwilling to revise domestic laws. In the glare of international attention at the United Nations, Japan did vote for the document with reservations on certain articles that are inconsistent with domestic law.

Japan is out of step with the convention on questions of employment, education and nationality. For example, the Labor Standards Law (LSL) does not prohibit discrimination against women in recruitment, assignment, promotion and retirement. Japan cannot ratify the convention unless it revises the LSL and enacts a powerful equal opportunity law.

The Ministry of Labor is considering, on the basis of a 1978 report from its advisory body on labor standards, two related issues: relaxation of the protection-of-women clauses in the labor code and a new equal opportunity law. Under the present law there are restrictions on late-night work and overtime for women and they are entitled to menstrual leave. Various women's groups oppose this package on the grounds that there will be "regressive revision of the Labor Standards Law and an equality law which provides no protection for women." The Japan Socialist party has submitted an equal opportunity bill to the Diet which rules out discrimination while retaining certain safeguards.

The private business sector shows no sign of reforming the world's worst sexist discrimination in employment. The recruitment process is totally segregated and entails different criteria for male and female applicants. The large corporations regard women as merely cheap, supplemental labor. Although big business calls for an end to legal restrictions on the use of female labor, they are not likely to stop discriminating against women.

To secure ratification of the convention, the educational curriculum must be reformed. In junior high school, when girls are taking home economics, boys take manual arts courses. In high school, girls must take a home economics course, while boys have electives. Despite a major effort by women's groups to change this aspect of the curriculum, the 1976 revision did not touch home economics. Since curriculum revision occurs only once each decade, there will be no change at least until 1986. The culprit is the sexist Ministry of Education.

Another serious problem blocking ratification of the convention is the Nationality Law. It grants nationality only to a child with a Japanese father; Japanese women who marry foreign men cannot obtain Japanese nationality for their children. Some women married to American men have brought lawsuits against the government seeking to obtain recognition of their child's Japanese nationality. In Okinawa, where the majority of U.S. military forces in Japan are located, there have

been cases where the father has left or fails to fulfill the requirements of U.S. nationality laws, with the result that children are stateless.

The law, a feudal remnant of the traditional family system in which only men could become heads of a household, is a codified expression of contempt for women. France, West Germany, Switzerland, Denmark and Sweden have revised their nationality laws. But the Japanese government citing potential problems of dual nationality for Koreans in Japan, is unwilling to budge.

The male political establishment here has shown no enthusiasm for ratifying the convention. However, pressure from women forced the government to sign it in July and to begin studies on ways to bring domestic laws into line with the convention in preparation for ratification by the end of the U.N. Decade for Women in 1985.

The convention is a powerful weapon for Japanese women. They can use it to prod the government to take action against ubiquitous, systemic discrimination.

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Japan's Patriarchal Citizenship Law  
By Hiroshi TANAKA, Associate Professor  
Aichi Prefectural University  
(From Sekai, October 1980)

A Japanese woman and her husband, a foreigner, went to the Immigration Office to have his student visa extended. One of the officials lectured her: "You should live in your husband's country. You two can't expect to live in Japan forever. You should have realized that when you got married."

That official attitude, and Japan's discriminatory Nationality Law, spell inconvenience and heartbreak for many international marriages and their offspring.

Under present laws, a child born of a Japanese father and a non-Japanese mother is automatically a Japanese citizen. But if the mother is Japanese and the father is a foreigner, the child cannot acquire Japanese nationality. Many Japanese women resent the fact that their children cannot inherit their citizenship.

One woman complained: "I get so angry when I think that when my child reaches the age of 14 -- a very impressionable stage -- he'll have to go to the local ward office and have his fingers all smeared with ink and be fingerprinted for an alien registration card."

In Japan, all citizens are enrolled in a family register. Of all the official documents in use, the family register is probably the most rigorously administered and controlled. It is used to authenticate all parent-child relationships with one notable exception: no children of a Japanese woman with an alien husband can be recorded there. As far as the family register is concerned, they do not exist. Curiously, if a Japanese woman adopts a child of another nationality, it will be entered in her register.

Consider the case of a Japanese woman married to an American. Under U.S. nationality law, any person born in the United States is entitled to U.S. citizenship, while children born to American citizens overseas must fulfill certain fairly complicated requirements to inherit U.S. citizenship.

Because the law here forbids children of a Japanese mother and an American father from inheriting her citizenship, the father must comply with the U.S. requirements or the child loses its claim to either nationality and becomes "stateless." In Okinawa, where most U.S. military forces in Japan are based, there are many children "without a country."

Since World War II, women have had the right to vote and equality of the sexes is enshrined in the 1947 constitution. But the Nationality Law shows that traditional attitudes like "A woman should be obedient to her husband" are still very much alive.

France, West Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, and Sweden, whose nationality laws were also based on the paternal blood line, have revised their codes. Instead of strictly patrilineal systems, nationality may now be inherited from either parenta

In July, Japan signed the International Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. The government initially decided not to sign because there is little prospect of bringing domestic laws, the Nationality Law for example, into line with the conventiona But severe criticism at home and abroad reversed that policya

If the Nationality Law is changed to allow the inheritance of citizenship from either parent, there will be Japanese citizens with Korean, Chinese and Western names. The ability to choose one's citizenship may inspire an individualistic approach to nationality. And the controversy over the Nationality Law may have a more profound impact on Japanese society than anyone expects.

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### Inflation Trillionaires

By Teruya TSURUSAWA, Chairman of the Board

Nippon Seal Company

(From Bungei Shunju, October 1980)

During a short stay in Dusseldorf in 1972, I happened to come across some relics of Germany's post-World War I inflation. A shop in the Hilton Hotel lobby had a display of old postage stamps. Fascinated by their astronomical figures, I bought several. One stamp alone had been worth 50 billion Rentenmarks, and the ten I bought came to a magnificent total of 105 billion marks.

If my stamps could be converted to yen or dollars at the present exchange rate, they would be worth about 10 trillion yen, or \$45 billion! Shokichi Uehara, who had the highest personal income in Japan



in 1979, made only \$9 million; the combined income of the top 10 earners was only \$24.5 million. For the director of a small company like myself, who has to hustle every day just to keep my creditors at bay, outclassing Mr. Uehara would be a dream come true.

Earlier this year when I was sorting out my books, I came across a 1948 issue of a magazine with a panel discussion on German inflation. The participants were Hiromi Arisawa, Itsuro Sakisaka and Kozo Uno, all eminent Marxist economists who had studied in Germany in the early 1920s.

According to Professor Arisawa, Germany's inflation began to get out of hand in the autumn of 1922 and peaked in August and September, 1923, when Professors Uno and Sakisaka were there.

Professor Sakisaka recalled, "Just after I arrived, one English pound was worth 500,000 marks. The bank gave you 2.5 million marks for five pounds. It was all in 100-mark notes and the stack of bills reached my shoulder. I couldn't carry that much cash in my hands, so I hoisted it on my back and went home in a taxi."

Professor Sakisaka is the epitome of a dignified scholar. I couldn't help smiling at the picture of him riding home with those bundles of marks on his back. If I had been in Germany and had changed my stamps into pre-1923 marks, it would have taken 42,000 cars to get them home. No wonder the Germans still get nervous whenever they hear the word "inflation."

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#### Dumping Atomic Waste in the Pacific

By Yasuo MIYAKE, former chairman

Special Committee on Atomic Energy Problems, Science Council of Japan

(From the Asahi Shimbun, October 20, 1980)

Japan's plan to dispose of radioactive waste from nuclear power plants in the western Pacific has brought a storm of angry protests from

the Palau Islands, the Northern Marianas and the Federated States of Micronesia. To ignore these objections could embroil Japan in an international political controversy, and jeopardize this country's nuclear energy program.

The Science and Technology Agency has scheduled a test disposal for autumn 1981. From 5,000 to 10,000 concrete-filled drums containing low-level (about 500 curies) radioactive waste will be dumped at a depth of 6,000 meters in the Pacific about 900 kilometers southeast of Japan.

The high seas are a common asset of mankind. Although in principle each country is supposed to have freedom of action on the oceans, restrictions have been agreed upon in recent years to protect marine and seabed mineral resources. The London Convention regulates the disposal of industrial wastes at sea to prevent contamination. This treaty bans ocean dumping of high-level radioactive wastes and toxic wastes that include mercury, cadmium or organic chlorinated compounds.

Under present international rules, a country may dispose of its low-level radioactive wastes at sea if it complies with the recommendations of the International Atomic Energy Agency, joins a multilateral consultative and supervisory body under the Nuclear Energy Agency of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD-NEA), and has its dumping plan cleared a year in advance. Six European countries, including Britain and West Germany, have been depositing their radioactive wastes in the north Atlantic since 1967.

Clearance by OECD-NEA, however, is not sufficient in the case of the Pacific Ocean. A country wishing to dispose of its radioactive wastes here must have the approval of all other countries in the region, because many are not members of OECD-NEA. Although the waste material is of low-level radiation, it is impossible to prevent some contamination of the ocean. No wonder that Pacific nations fear that the waters that wash their beaches may become radioactive and object to Japan's dumping plan.

In utilizing the high seas, the interests of and benefits to other nations should be considered. In this case, the dumping benefits only

Japan's electric power industry; it serves no useful purpose to other nations. The domestic fishing industry is worried that its fleets may be barred from fishing zones in retaliation. To win approval of this plan requires patient, adroit diplomacy.

Deep-sea disposal of radioactive wastes requires careful engineering. There are many factors: the type of radioactive materials to be discarded, its radioactive intensity, the strength of the drum and its specific gravity. Extensive prior testing is required.

Other considerations include the method of transporting the waste material overland and at sea, its storage and loading at ports of shipment, and the method of dropping it into the sea. Who will be in charge of the different stages of the operation and take overall responsibility?

The utmost caution is required to protect the many workers involved from exposure to radiation, particularly the crews of the ships carrying the waste, as well as ordinary citizens through whose streets it must be moved. A completely equipped monitoring system staffed by experienced personnel is needed. Have the authorities taken these precautions?

Once the wastes are deposited on the seabed, follow-up checks and inspections are practically impossible. Although several surveys have already been made, very little is known about the deep-sea currents or ocean ecology. No amount of assurances based on theoretical calculations and incomplete data is likely to convince the Pacific island residents who will be affected by a radiation leak.

Detailed surveys must be made of the water current at great depths, mineral deposits and marine ecology at the prospective dumping site. Administrative and technological problems at each stage of the waste disposal operation must be solved, especially the perfection of a fail-safe system to prevent radiation leakage. Only then might other nations agree to Japan's dumping of radioactive wastes in the Pacific.

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## A Healthy Death

By Shumon MIURA, Novelist

(From the Asahi Shimbun, November 17, 1980)

Jogging is supposed to be good for you and I guess it is, though it's also highly addictive. Once a person starts running, there is an irresistible tendency to lengthen both the time and distance. Joggers have been known to abandon job and family, and run off into the sunset.

For some, three or four hours and 20 miles a day on the road works off frustrations. A kind of rapture hits you about 20 or 30 minutes after you start off. That plus the feeling of exhilaration when you finally stop probably explains why people get hooked.

But it is frightening how people topple over with heart attacks, either on the road or just after they stop. I happen to be a jogger myself, and one of my friends is always warning me, "You'd better be careful or you'll end up like one of those marathon grandfathers you read about on the obituary page." But maybe that wouldn't be so bad. One jogger even said he couldn't wish for anything better than to die with his running shoes on.

To some people this may sound more like running amok than running for health, but there is something to it. Right up to the last minute the jogger is enjoying life, bursting with health and energy, until, suddenly, the end comes. Isn't that better than dragging out your days in fear of sickness or becoming bedridden, a burden to yourself and your family? Someday I have to go and when the time comes I want to be jogging "on the road again."

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